

Brit. 292^m

Hooke

Review
THE *Brit. 292^m*
SECRET HISTORY
M OF *H*
Colonel H O O K E's
NEGOTIATIONS

In *Scotland*, in Favour of the Pretender;
in 1707.

INCLUDING THE
Original LETTERS and PAPERS
Which passed between the *Scotch* and *Irish*
Lords and the Courts of VERSAILLES and
ST. GERMAINS.

Never before Published.

Written by HIMSELF.

With a TRANSLATION of LETTERS,

CONTAINING

A NARRATIVE of the Pretender's Expedition into *Scot-*
land in 1708, and his Return to *Dunkirk*, transmitted
to the *French* Court by the commanding Officers of the
Squadron.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. BECKET, at *Tully's Head*, near *Surry-*
Street, in the *Strand*.

M D C C L X.

471 - Cy.

THE



TRANSLAT

THE memorial of letters contained in
the volume lately shewn them
was of great service to the
that ever it was in the hands of
certain persons who were then
to be sent by the persons whose names were
best: though the French edition of the
that the persons who were then
hands of the persons who were then
to be sent by the persons whose names were

But I do not know of any other
edition of the memorial of letters
that is now in the hands of the
persons who were then to be sent
by the persons whose names were
best: though the French edition of the
that the persons who were then
hands of the persons who were then
to be sent by the persons whose names were

THE
P R E F A C E,
BY THE
T R A N S L A T O R.

THE memorials and letters, contained in this volume, carry along with them *internal* proofs of genuineness, so perfectly satisfactory, that every reader of common discernment will, without hesitation, allow them to be writ by the persons whose names they bear; though the *French* edition, of which this is a translation, neither tells us in whose hands the originals are now deposited, nor by whose hands they have been, at last, conveyed to the public.

But, besides this, Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth* has given us, in *his Memoirs of the Scottish Affairs*, a general account of Colonel *Hooke's* Negotiations in *Scotland*, so entirely corresponding with the papers here made public, that whoever peruses those Memoirs, will, of course, admit the Authenticity of the pre-

sent Collection. *Lockhart*, as one of the leaders of that party, with whom *Hooke* was sent to treat, had access to know many particulars of the negociation; and what he says concerning the credentials produced by the Colonel, from the Pretender and *French* King, and concerning the treaty which he signed with the *Scottish* nobility *, is a strong *collateral* evidence, to establish the credit of the papers in this volume.—“I should be glad, says “this memoir writer, I were master of a “copy of those papers, so that I might insert “them at large; however, I have often read “them, and this is a short abstract of the “most material heads contained in them †.”

What *he* would have been glad to be master of, we now present to the public, and cannot but be of opinion, that the papers in question are a most valuable acquisition to the body of history, and highly worthy of a translation into the language of that country, against the peace and happiness of which, the negociation was undertaken. They present us with such a picture of the state of *Scotland*, at that period; they give such striking instances of the prevalence of *Jacobitism* there, amongst all

* *Lockhart*, p. 351—353.

† P. 353.

The P R E F A C E.

v

forts of men, and persuasions, that our surprize to find that the scheme of introducing the Pretender was then defeated and disappointed, can be equalled only by the satisfaction we now must feel, when, thank God, circumstances are so greatly changed. Far from apprehending any new attempt from *Scotland* in favour of the Pretender, or from dreading any longer, the secret negociations of *French* emissaries in that long-deluded country, we have, in the course of the present war, found that the descendants of those who, fifty years ago, had gone such lengths to overturn the constitution, are fit to be trusted in its defence; nay have made ample amends for past infidelities, by services which give them no inconsiderable share in those triumphs that will adorn the annals of our times, and have raised the glory of the *united* kingdom (united in every sense of the word) to a height which former periods of our history have never attained to.

Whatever be the cause of the happy coalition of parties in defence of our excellent establishment; whether *Jacobitism* has died a violent or a natural death; whether it has been worn out by length of time, or been *extinguished* by repeated disappointments; whether
punish-

punishments have *terrified*, or lenity hath *overcome* the disaffected ; whether the cause of the Pretender has been abandoned as a *pernicious* one with regard to the public, or been given up as a *desperate* one, with regard to its adherents ; in a word, whether mercenary views of *private interest*, or laudable motives of *conviction* have opened men's eyes ; whatever, I say, be the cause (perhaps all the above-mentioned have operated) the fact is certain, that we have lived to see this much wished for event, the extinction of a party which watched to overturn the constitution, and absurdly preferred the support of hereditary right, to the safety of their liberties and religion.

We flatter ourselves, therefore, that the descendants of those noble families, mentioned in the course of this work, as corresponding with the Pretender, can have no reason to blush at the facts we now reveal ; nor can the malice of narrow-minded party attempt to fix on *them* the imputation of those political tenets adopted by their ancestors, who were cotemporaries with the banishment of the *abjured* family, and who lived before the succession to the crown was fully settled. Were all the repositories of the court of *St. Germain*s to be laid open, and the curious MSS.
pre-

preserved, as we are told, in the *Scottish* college at *Paris*, to see the light, we should find, that the Pretender, in those times when *Hooke* negotiated in *Scotland*, had correspondents in other parts of this island, as hearty in his cause, as those whose transactions are here disclosed ; though, perhaps, their stations, employments, and professions, rendered such correspondence more criminal in itself, as it was more dangerous to the public, than the important efforts of the nonjuring lords of *Scotland*. —It seemed necessary to make this remark, to obviate all *national reflections*, or abuse on *particular* families, to which the publication of the present work, might give rise. It can no more reflect dishonour on any person now living, to say that his father, or relations were *Jacobites* fifty years ago, than it can reflect any discredit on the kingdom in general, to say, that about two hundred years ago, we were all *Papists*.

It may be proper to add only a few words with regard to Mr. *Hooke*. He is well known to have been born in *England*, of a respectable family. He followed the fortunes of King *James II.* after the Revolution ; went into the *French* service ; was a *Colonel* in it, when sent to *Scotland* to execute the negotiation related

ed in this book ; he returned with the Pretender to the same country in 1708, as a *Brigadier* ; and rose to be a *Lieutenant-General* before his death. *Lockhart*, though he gives sufficient testimony to his abilities (and the memorials preserved in this volume, shew that his abilities were far from being despicable) indulges himself in some satirical touches, with regard to the foibles of his character. Whether these touches were just or no, is of little consequence to the world ; though, perhaps, we may be less apt to pay much attention to any of *Lockhart's* accounts concerning Mr. *Hooke*, when we reflect that, in his *Memoirs*, he tells us *, that the Duke of *Hamilton's* party, amongst whom he ranks himself, were neglected by the Colonel, who chose to carry on his negociation with another set of *Jacobites*, in preference to them.

The extreme incorrectness of the *French* edition which we were obliged to make use of, particularly with regard to the proper names, will, we are persuaded, give this translation a great advantage over the Original in the opinion of every reader ; because we have attempted to rectify those mistakes, and, we hope, we have succeeded tolerably well in the attempt.

* *Lockhart*, p. 350.



A

MEMORIAL

CONCERNING THE

Advantages that will result to FRANCE
in supporting a Rebellion in SCOT-
LAND, presented to the Court by
Col. HOOCKE in 1707.



B

THE
MEMORIAL

OF THE

PEOPLE

OF THE

MEMORIAL

CONCERNING THE

Advantages that will result to France
in supporting a Rebellion in Scotland
and, presented to the Court by
Col. Hooke in 1707.

By

JOHN HOOKE

ESQ.

OF THE

BAR

T H E
P L A N
O F
M I L I T A R Y O P E R A T I O N S
F O R T H E
E X P E D I T I O N T O S C O T L A N D.

TH E Scottish Lords oblige themselves, to make all their nation take arms for the restoration of their K. (the Chevalier de St. George) and to raise an army of 25,000 foot, and 5,000 horse and dragoons, the regiments to be formed of chosen men, and also to furnish them with accoutrements, provisions and carriages for all their marches, and to cause them march directly for England. They have given in a particular account of the means by which they can accomplish this, and as they have much to lose, the first and the richest Lords of the nation being engaged in the design, they may safely be trusted.

They affirm that they will be joined in England by a very considerable party of English, with whom they keep a correspondence; and, as England is at present destitute of troops, without one single fortress, and full of all kinds of provisions, they will draw from thence, besides their necessary supplies, considerable contributions, after the example of their forefathers, who, in 1639, (besides provisions for the subsistence of their army) drew 12,000 livres a day from the three northern counties of England, which are the poorest of the whole kingdom.

Nothing could hinder them from making themselves masters of the city of Newcastle, and of its coal mines, which are so necessary for firing in London, that the inhabitants of that place could not be deprived of them for six weeks without being reduced to the greatest extremity.

As the Scots advanced in England, their army would be augmented by the English malecontents, who are very numerous, and by the faithful subjects of the lawful K—, so that they hope to make themselves masters of the greatest part of the kingdom, and even of the city of London, which would be a decisive stroke, before the Princess Anne could transport her troops over from Flanders; and even although she should bring them over, as more than one half of them are Scotch and Irish, it is not doubted but these would join the Scottish army if it were commanded by their lawful K---.

It appears from the History of England, that there has almost never been a Pretender who was not acknowledged King when he went thither with an army; witness, among other examples, Henry VI. and Edward IV. who, in the space of three months,
6 were

were twice expelled and twice acknowledged Kings in the city of London.

The Scots are certain that Ireland waits only for their example to take arms, and the inhabitants alone of the north of Ireland, who are Scots, will directly furnish 20,000 men compleatly armed under a commander of great reputation among them, who has thereto engaged himself. But the Scottish Lords, before they declare themselves, absolutely insist that their K— should come and put himself at their head, and say that his presence is necessary to secure the success of the undertaking, and put the Princess Anne out of a condition of maintaining herself on the throne in opposition to the lawful K—; because the most sensible part of the subjects of the three kingdoms will then look upon his restoration as the only means of eviting civil wars, with which they are threatened by the great number of Princes who have a right to the crown with the house of Hanover; and thus the expedition will not be looked upon as a conquest, but as an act of justice, which will restore the publick tranquillity. And although even the Princess Anne should be in a condition to measure her forces with those of her brother, which is not in the least probable, and that she should be so successful even as to drive the Scottish army into their own country, as it is inaccessible, she will still be obliged to keep the same number of troops to watch the Scots, which will render it impossible for her to send troops to Flanders or elsewhere.

As the Scots are at present wholly united, they will be strong enough to restore their K—, first in Scotland, and afterwards in England, excepting that it will be necessary to have a body of troops

for his protection upon his arrival, till the national army shall be assembled in the field, when they consent to send back the troops if the King should desire it, or an equal number of their Countrymen. They require, if his Majesty pleases, that their King should be accompanied with 5000 men. They would prefer the Irish troops that serve in France, as being most accustomed to their manner of living and speaking the two languages of their country. There are in the King's army in Flanders two Irish battalions, to which might be joined six other battalions, German, Walloon, or French, and a regiment of dragoons on foot, whom the Scots will supply with horses upon their arrival. They desire a general of noble birth, that the first peers of their nation may make no scruple of obeying him. They would wish to have the Marshal Duke of Berwick, or any other whom his Majesty pleases. They require likewise some general officers, and as many half-pay officers as possible to be sent them. Besides 600,000 livres to put them in a condition to begin the war.

They have demanded arms for 30,000 men, but they will be content with 15,000 stand of arms for the foot, and 5000 for horse or dragoons, with a promise that the other 10,000 shall be sent them in a short time; gun-powder necessary for 30,000 men, because they have at present almost no powder in Scotland; but a smaller quantity of balls will be sufficient, as they have plenty of lead in the country. A train of field-pieces, with six battering cannon, four mortars, bombs, bullets, and grenadoes will also be needed. They likewise demand a subsidy, but this they leave to the King's pleasure: but as the expedition will not be of long continuance, there need not be any difficulty as to this point.

The

The most sure and secret means of transporting these supplies to Scotland, is to equip twenty frigates from 20 to 40 guns, at Brest, Rochfort, Port Louis, Havre, and Dunkirk; and, under pretence of a long voyage, to put six months provisions on board, which will be sufficient for the troops during their passage to Scotland, and to cause the arms and ammunition to be put on board at different ports distributing them equally on board each frigate according to their burthen. That the whole armament be ready in the month of September, when the frigates which have been equipped at different ports shall separately repair to Dunkirk. While the frigates are equipping, orders shall be sent to the garrisons of the places nearest Dunkirk, such as Bergues, Gravelines, Calais, and St. Omer, to hold themselves in readiness to march to the army, or to other places which might be expressed in the order, as if it were designed to change the garrisons, which may afterwards serve as a pretext for marching to the same place by different routes, the eight battalions and the regiment of dragoons destined for the embarkation; and when they shall be within a day's march of Dunkirk, they shall receive orders to repair thither, and their march shall be so calculated, that they shall arrive there immediately after the arrival of the frigates on board of which they are to embark. These 20 frigates may carry, one with another, 250 each; and the embarkation may be made in two days, which they are ready to demonstrate. This method of transporting the troops, being quite new, would not be suspected till the moment of the embarkation.

Care should be taken that the K— of England should come post at the same time, but with a few

attendants, and without any retinue, because they should take the pains before-hand to prepare at Dunkirk, or some neighbouring city, all that should be necessary for him. The enemy seldom have any squadron in the course between Dunkirk and Scotland, especially at that season; and the frigates may sail from Dunkirk to the frith of Edinburgh in two days, if the wind be favourable. The landing at Leith, within a quarter of a league of Edinburgh, is sure and easy, and the King's frigates would there be quite safe. The Scottish Lords, for the reasons mentioned in the memorial, have preferred this place to any other for the landing-place. The K— of England will be received and proclaimed without opposition in the city of Edinburgh, which will be followed by all the other cities. The Scottish Lords are then resolved to cause the leading men of the party, devoted to the court of England, to be made prisoners, or to send them to France.

If arms and ammunition are sent only to the Presbyterians of Scotland to make them rise, as they have offered, the finest opportunity in the world will be lost; for the Presbyterians alone will not attack England, nor will they be able to make themselves masters of Scotland; and the Scottish Lords will not put themselves at their head, running the hazard of being seized in their own houses by orders of the court of England upon the first commotion; whereas if the insurrection be made general, it will be out of the power of the English to prevent its taking effect.

A little reflection will clearly shew, that it is the most glorious undertaking, the most useful, and even the most necessary that his Majesty, in the present
sent

sent juncture, could form. This single diversion will infallibly overturn all the schemes of the enemy. It will force the English instantly to recall the troops and ships which they employ in different countries against his Majesty, and will put it out of the power of that kingdom to furnish the large sums to it's allies, who are thereby enabled to support the war. It will entirely destroy the credit of the exchequer-bills, and of the commerce of the city of London, upon which all the sums employed against his Majesty are advanced: And as the principal strength of the enemy consists in the credit of the city of London, when England shall be attacked at home, it will be out of her power to support her allies abroad, which will soon force the Dutch, upon whom alone the weight of the war will fall, to ask a peace of his Majesty.

It would be needless to enlarge further to prove advantages so great and so striking; but as the difficulty of furnishing the supplies is the only objection that can be made, on account of the immense expence which his Majesty is at present engaged in, to judge of this right, we need only balance on one side the loss which his Majesty would suffer in depriving himself of a small number of troops, and of the sum necessary for the undertaking, with the arms and ammunition which the Scots demand, against the great advantages which he would receive by granting their request; and to consider that when the Scots have taken arms they will render it less necessary for his Majesty to be at great expence in Flanders and elsewhere, and by this means alone he will become superior every where.

There

There is another very important reflection to be made upon the necessity of this undertaking, which is, that it is well known that while the English are not attacked at home, they are firmly resolved to continue the war till they have settled the archduke upon the throne of Spain and the Indies, which is the true cause of the present war. That the Dutch are in the same resolution, because the principal strength of these two maritime powers consists in the trade which they carry on with the Indies, whither the Spaniards carry their manufactures and their commodities, for which they bring them back gold and silver; and this commerce they think will not be permitted them while the king of Spain (Philip V.) is upon the throne. Therefore their design is either to force the Spaniards to receive the archduke, or oblige his Majesty to recall the King of Spain by attacking France by sea and land, in order to penetrate into the kingdom, as they attempt at present in Provence, in hopes of putting his Majesty out of a condition to continue the war, by exhausting both his men and money, they themselves believing that they have more resources for continuing the war. For these reasons it is concluded, that if the expedition to Scotland should be much more expensive than is proposed, it ought to be looked upon as necessary, and as a certain means of getting quit of all embarrassments, of preserving the King of Spain upon the throne, and of putting his Majesty in a condition of making a glorious peace this winter.

A LETTER of Colonel Hooke to Mr. de Chamillart.

S I R,

IN obedience to your orders, I take the liberty to present to you the state in which I left the affairs of Scotland. Upon my arrival in that country, I found all the nation extremely exasperated against the English, even to a degree that I cannot express. All the different interests of the parties were in a manner laid asleep, and every one thought of nothing but of shaking off the yoke of England.

The greatest part of Scotland has always been well affected to the K--- of England. The Presbyterians, his antient enemies, even wish for him at present; and as they look upon him as their only resource, they offer to arm 13,000 men, and to begin the war upon the first orders that they receive. They require only a ship loaded with gun-powder, and a promise that the K— of England will go and put himself at the head of his friends in Scotland. I have seen a great number of principal lords who are all of the same opinion. Being assured that there will be an universal rising in Scotland, they have drawn up a memorial addressed to the King, in which they give an account of the state of their nation. They have taken the instructions which you, Sir, had the goodness to give me, for their rule, and they have answered them article by article. They oblige themselves to march into England at the head of 30,000 men, whom they will supply with provisions, clothes, carriages, and even in part with arms.

You

You will find, Sir, their memorial at the end of my narrative. It is signed by 13 of the chiefs, in the name of the whole nation, but more particularly in the name of 30 others who had appointed them their proxies. They are the richest and most powerful chiefs of that kingdom, who in all probability must be well assured of the success of the enterprize they undertake, as they thereby hazard their lives and their families. They were all unanimous, excepting the duke of Hamilton, and a lord a friend of his, who were of another opinion. You will find in my narrative evident proofs that this duke does not act sincerely, and he is neither rich nor powerful.

In their memorial you will find the sums which they will furnish every year, and what they demand to put them in a condition to act. They refer themselves to the king, as to the number of troops and the money that will be necessary for them. They do not ask any troops to be employed in the war, but only to enable them with safety to take the field, and to protect the person of the K--- of England at his landing, till they should be able to join him.

As their memorial is short, it cannot be abridged. In their memorial they refer themselves to me in many things, as to the place for the landing, the proper situations for their magazines, the measures which they have already taken to keep themselves in readiness to execute the orders of the king, the best methods for transporting the supplies, the number of troops which each of them obliges himself to furnish, &c. I have executed these commissions in a few words towards the end of my narrative,

narrative, under the title of a Memorial of the Scottish Lords to the King.

I am fully persuaded that they are in a condition to do more than they have promised. Several of them have done themselves the honour to write with their own hand to the king; they have signed their letters, and have sealed them with their arms, and their subscriptions at the bottom of their memorial testify their zeal, for they thereby hazard their all.

By the letters which I have received from that country, it appears that every thing is ready. I have had the happiness to engage that whole nation in the service of the king; and at the same time I have not in the least brought any engagement upon his Majesty. If he thinks proper to prosecute this enterprize, I will answer, that in a short time the English will be in no condition to furnish either troops or money to the enemy, and that they will accept of peace, on the terms that his Majesty shall be pleased to prescribe to them.

Whatever be the issue, I flatter myself that the King will approve of my zeal, and the great hazards to which I have exposed myself for his service; and I take this opportunity humbly to request you, Sir, to procure me a settlement which may put me in a condition to continue my services. You have had the goodness to make me hope for one, and you can never patronize a man who is with so much respect and attachment as I am,

Sir,

Your most humble,

and most obedient,

and most devoted Servant,

(Signed) HOOKE.

A NARRATIVE of the Execution of the Orders of the King trusted to Mr. Hoocke in his second Voyage to Scotland, delivered by himself to Mr. de Chamillart, Minister of War, and Secretary of State, 29th July, 1707.

IMMEDIATELY upon receiving the King's orders in the month of January last, to hold myself in readiness to go over to Scotland for his service, I wrote to the duke of Hamilton, begging of him to give notice to the well-affected of my journey, and that I was to bring them arms and ammunition. This resolution being soon after changed, and new orders being given to me to go over to that country only to treat with the principal men of the nation, I likewise acquainted the duke of Hamilton with this, and entreated him to concert every thing before-hand with the other chiefs, who were then assembled to attend the parliament, and to send some one well instructed, and fully authorised from them to wait upon me at the Earl of Errol's the Lord high Constable, where I was to land, and to whom also I gave notice of my journey.

I had orders to carry along with me Mr. Moray, Lieutenant-colonel in the King's service, who had already been in that country by his Majesty's orders, and one of his brothers, who was then in France on his particular affairs. These two gentlemen being of one of the best families in Scotland, were judged proper to facilitate the affair; especially the last, who having come to France with the permission of the Scottish government, was at liberty to go openly every where upon his return, which I could only do in secret.

Having

Having proceeded to Dunkirk with these two gentlemen, we were detained there a whole month by contrary winds, so that I entreated the brother of Mr. Moray to go to Ostend or to Holland, and to go over to England in the packet-boat, or in the first vessel that should sail for that country, to go post for Edinburgh, and dispose the well-affected for my arrival. Some time after, the weather having become more favourable, I embarked with Mr. Moray on board the King's frigate the *Heroine*, commanded by Mr. de Ligondes, and the fifth day after I arrived at Slains, a castle of the Earl of Errol, hereditary High Constable of Scotland, in the northern part of the county of Aberdeen.

I always was, and still am ready to execute blindly all the orders of the King, but I undertook that journey so much the more willingly, because from my knowledge of the island of Great Britain, I am well assured that a revolution in Scotland would absolutely put the English out of a condition to support the expences of the war, and would oblige them to sue for peace in a very short time.

Notwithstanding I was trusted with very ample powers, I nevertheless thought it best for the service of the king on this occasion, to apply myself earnestly to engage the Scots as far as I could, and at the same time engage the King to nothing; and during that journey, I thought only of the means of accomplishing this purpose. Upon my arrival in Scotland, I found that the Union had been ratified by the parliament, to the great discontent and hearty dislike of the nation; and that all the peers and other Lords, together with the members of parliament, had returned to the country, their ordinary residence, (for in Scotland only the

merchants and some lawyers make their constant abode in the cities) and that there remained only at Edinburgh the High Constable, the Duke of Hamilton, and the Lord Marshal, the two last being dangerously ill.

The Countess of Errol, mother to the High Constable, who had come on purpose to the castle on the sea coast to wait upon me, put into my hands several letters of her son, in which he testified a great impatience to see me, adding, that all the well-affected would exert themselves to the utmost on this occasion, as their last resource, being persuaded, that at the worst they would obtain better conditions sword in hand than those of the Union. She told me also that the Duke of Hamilton had sent Mr. Hall a priest and his confidant to her, and that he had waited for me a month. She gave me a letter from him, in which Mr. Hall informs me, that the Duke of Hamilton entreats me to come to him at Edinburgh, where he would take care that I should be well lodged; that he would trust himself to none but me only; that he and all his friends are ready to risk every thing for the K--- of England, provided that Prince comes in person; that without his presence there will be nothing done; that if the fatigue of the voyage hinder me from beginning my journey directly, the Duke begs of me to send him the letters which I may have for him.

The Countess of Errol at the same time told me, that she advised me not to be in great haste; that the Duke of Hamilton's affairs were greatly altered within a few months past; that all the world had abandoned him, and all the well-affected had come to an open rupture with him; that the only
man

man that stuck by him was Lord Kilfyth, the high constable, and great marshal also observing some measures with him on account of their antient intimacy; that he had been suspected of holding a correspondence with the court of London; therefore, that I would do well to be upon my guard before I trusted much to him, and that the high constable her son would tell me more.

Her reasons prevailed upon me; and besides I was not in a good state of health to go to Edinburgh, having been indisposed since I had left Versailles, and being much out of order with my voyage. I therefore desir'd M. de Ligondes to go to Norway, and came back to the coast at the end of three weeks. The same day I dispatched a messenger to the high constable and to Mr. Hall. Of the first, I asked advice, how it were best for me to act; and I informed the latter that after I had taken some rest I intended to come and wait upon the duke of Hamilton. I begged of him to inform him of my arrival, and that I had a letter for him from the k— of England, and that I would wait the return of the messenger, to know the measures he had taken to see me, and to render my abode at Edinburgh safe. The messenger returned the fifth day after with the answers. The constable begged of me to wait for him at the castle, promising to be there in the end of the week. Mr. Hall informed me that the duke of Hamilton was so bad that he could not yet see him, but that I would have an answer from him by the high constable. While I waited the arrival of the high constable, I sent a messenger to lord Drummond, second son of the duke of Perth, who was then in that country, and after having informed myself of those among the lords of the west and north-west of Scotland, who had most confidence in him,

C

I

I begged of him to go and wait upon them, and to prepare them for a conference with me, and I gave him a copy of the instructions, which I had received from M. de Chamillart. It contained questions concerning the particular circumstances of the nation, and of the things that would be needed in the expedition. I gave him likewise a copy of the letter which the king of England had written to all his friends in general, in which he assured them of his resolution to come and put himself at their head; and to this I added a short writing, in which I represented the extremity to which the nation was reduced; I touched upon the different interests of the principal families of Scotland; I proposed some expedients for reconciling them, exhorting them to put an end to all their quarrels and animosities; I laid before them the dangers to which they exposed themselves, and the impossibility of delivering themselves from slavery while these jealousies subsisted.

After this young lord was gone, I sent another messenger to the laird of Boyn, who in the parliament had vigorously opposed the Union: As he is a confidant of the duke of Athol, I entreated him upon his arrival to go and wait upon the duke, and some other lords of his acquaintance, and I gave him the same instructions that I had given to lord John Drummond. I likewise dispatched a messenger to the duke of Gordon, who was at one of his castles in the north, and to the laird of Coxtoun his neighbour, to prepare every thing in their quarters to be able to enter upon the business at my arrival among them; for I found it was absolutely necessary that I should hazard myself in travelling over a great part of the kingdom. As the chief men of the nation were dispersed over the different counties, I had a design to divide the country into two circuits, to visit one myself,

myself, and to desire Mr. Moray to go through the other.

Lord Saltoun, a chief of one of the branches of the house of Frazer, coming in the mean time to visit the countess of Errol, assured me of his zeal, and desired me to be upon my guard against the duke of Hamilton. He told me that he believed he was in the interest of the court of London; that he had for a long time past held a correspondence with the duke of Queensberry and the earl of Stairs, who are at the head of the party for the Union; that he had carefully concealed that correspondence, and had broken all the measures of the well-affected; that after the ratification of the Union in the parliament, he had used his utmost efforts to get himself elected one of the peers to sit in the first parliament of Great-Britain; and although he had condescended to the greatest meannesses, yet he had been unanimously rejected as a candidate. Lord Saltoun added, that I would be informed of all this more particularly from the high constable, and he authorized that lord to sign in his name every thing that should be settled with me for the service of the k— of England, and for the welfare of Scotland.

The high constable came to his castle at the time he had fixed, and I found him very much dissatisfied with the duke of Hamilton. He told me, that the duke for two months past had testified the utmost impatience to see me, but that he no sooner heard of my arrival than he changed his tone. He said that I had come too late, and that the animosity of the nation against the English was greatly abated. Mr. Hall had made a mistake in decyphering my letter, for instead of explaining that I had letters from the king, and the k— of England for the duke,

duke, he wrote that the letters were from the king and the queen, upon which the duke of Hamilton cried out that his letters of two years date were plainly not agreeable to the k—, and that as his majesty had not written to him, it was a proof that he wished him not to be concerned in the affair; that for the time to come, therefore, he would think only of the means of securing his own safety.

The earl of Errol added, that all this was only a pretext which the duke used to cover his secret designs; that for some time past he had endeavoured to persuade his friends that there was nothing to be expected from the king, that his majesty was prevented by the state of his affairs from thinking upon them, and that if he appeared disposed to do any thing, it was only with a view to rid himself of the k— of England before the peace, or to excuse himself from doing any other thing for that prince, in case his subjects should refuse to receive him with a few troops; that the nation therefore should take some other measures for securing its liberties and independancy.

This discourse, he said, had given great offence to many, and that his secret intrigues with the duke of Queensbury, and the earl of Stairs (which lord Saltoun had already given me a hint of) had encreased their distrust; that the duke of Athol was the first who discovered that intrigue, with which he reproached the duke of Hamilton, who at first denied it; but the duke of Athol proving it plainly, the other was at length forced to confess it, entreating the duke of Athol to believe that he had no other design but to intimidate or gain the two chiefs of the English faction; that this excuse having given satisfaction to nobody, the well-affected had dropped

dropped all intercourse with him; that the duke of Athol continued still to treat with him, till he had proposed in parliament to agree to the succession of Hanover, provided the English would desist from pressing the Union; that then the duke of Athol openly broke with him, being persuaded the duke of Hamilton had only made that motion in hopes that if the well-affected had agreed to it, that proceeding would have made them lose all their credit with the people, who wish only for the k— of England.

That when all the counties, and all the cities of Scotland declared against the Union, by their addresses to the parliament, the presbyterians of the west of Scotland, who are all armed, sent to inform the duke of Hamilton, that they were preparing to march to Edinburgh to disperse the parliament; that if he thought the enterprise too bold, he need not concern himself with it, but only leave them to act; and that the duke had charged them not to make any disturbance, saying, it was not yet time.

The earl of Strathmore, lord Stormont, and the lairds of Pourie and Finglas, have since told me, that they made him the same offer from the shires of Angus and Perth, and that he gave them the same answer. And the laird of Kersland, one of the chief men among the presbyterians, has also assured me, that he and the laird of Bishopstoun had carried the message from the west-country presbyterians to the duke, and that he had put a stop to their rising.

The earl of Errol would never open himself to me as to his opinion of the conduct and designs of the duke of Hamilton. He begged of me only to make the best use I could of what he had told me,

not to neglect the duke, but at the same time to be upon my guard, because he was impenetrable; and to conceal from him all that I transacted with the other lords.

I asked him, how the duke, who was neither rich, nor powerful in the number of his vassals, had acquired so great a credit with the people. The earl of Errol answered, that by means of the dutchess dowager of Hamilton his mother, he had acquired great credit among the presbyterians; but that his late refusal to permit them to arm had entirely lost him their favour, and that they had since addressed themselves to the dukes of Gordon and Athol. That the greatest credit of the duke of Hamilton was owing to the court of St. Germain, several orders having come from thence to the friends of the k— of England, to do nothing without him, and that those orders had been repeated on occasion of my voyage. As a proof of this he gave me a letter of Mr. Innes, almoner to the queen of England*, dated the 17th of last January, in which after relating that I was soon to go over to Scotland, he adds these words. ‘ The k— of England desires
 ‘ that his friends would follow the directions of the
 ‘ duke of Hamilton, and not declare themselves
 ‘ till the duke has declared himself, when they may
 ‘ without danger follow his example.’

The earl added, that he had seen a letter written by Mr. Stairs, secretary to lord Middleton, to a person in Edinburgh, in which he informs him of my voyage; that the king will do nothing for the Scots; and that my journey is only a feint; and he names the two gentlemen that were to come with me. The

* The k— of England always employs Mr. Innes to give his orders to the Scots,

great constable shewed me another letter of the 1st of March, which one would have believed to have been written expressly to prevent the well-affected from answering the goodness of the k—, or from taking any measures. It positively mentions that they have nothing to hope for, that they are greatly pitied, and advises them to think of their own security. I have seen other letters from St. Germain to the same purpose.

By this turn of affairs, I now soon expected to see the secret discovered ; but I was extremely surprised to find that what has happened almost cuts off the only resource they had left. I begged the earl of Errol to suppress the letter of the 1st of March ; and I resolved to take advantage of that which desires the friends of the k— of England to regulate their conduct by the duke of Hamilton. I saw the nation ready to come to the last extremities to prevent the Union, that they only waited for a leader, that the duke of Hamilton wanted them not to think of the k— of England, by persuading them that the king neither had an inclination nor an ability to assist that prince ; and the despair of the people augmenting every day, the duke might flatter himself that they would at length address themselves to him. It appears to me, that if he was not gained over by the court of London, he could have no other views. I therefore resolved to act with a great deal of reserve, till I had clearly discovered the inclinations of the people, and above all, of the Presbyterians ; and if I found that they thought of the duke of Hamilton, I would enter into their measures, would act in concert with the duke, and persuade the nobility to join him in obedience to the orders of the k— of England, by persuading them that the duke acted only for the interest of that prince.

I discovered nothing of this my design to the high constable, knowing his attachment to the k— of England, and I desired always to keep myself in readiness to unite the party in favour of that prince, or of the duke of Hamilton, according as I found the nation disposed. I thought it would be safer for me to regulate myself by the disposition of the people, than by the offers of the duke of Hamilton, or by those of the friends of the k— of England; because the duke might have it in view to break the designs of the others by specious offers, which he could never execute; and the others, if they had any knowledge of the duke's designs, might act also in the same manner. I knew that the bulk of the nation was for the k— of England, but I was still ignorant of the intentions of the Presbyterians, and of the west-country people. I knew that these last were better armed than the rest, and I kept myself always ready to join with that party which they should espouse, as they would not stand in need of so many supplies, and are not so divided into different factions as the rest, and therefore it would be more easy to put them in motion at a small expence.

I gave the king's letter to the high constable, who received it with the most profound respect; I gave him also a letter from the k— of England, and having shewed him my powers, he told me, that it was his opinion they might treat with me, and that he would consult his friends as to the best means of their assembling. I had no mind to contradict him, because I waited for an opportunity of turning matters, so that the difficulties of treating should come from them and not from me; therefore, I seemed to approve of his design, and to wait the success of it with impatience. In the mean time, I received a letter from the laird of Boyn, mentioning, that he had
 4 seen

seen the duke of Athol, and some other chiefs; that the duke had charged him to inform me of his good disposition, and that he was going to spend some days in visiting and conferring with his friends, and to take measures for treating with me; that he allowed me to discover his intentions to the duke and duchess of Gordon, to the earl of Errol and his mother, the earl of Strathmore, and to lord Stormont, but to none others. That he begged of me to come to lord Stormont's house at Scoon, that I might be nearer to him, and that upon his return, he would treat with me in person, or send some person to me with full powers. The Laird of Boyn also wrote to the high Constable, desiring him in the duke of Athol's name to go and see him; but the high Constable did not think proper to undertake that journey, because as he had but just come home after a session of more than six months, he was apprehensive it would give umbrage to the government if he returned towards Edinburgh so soon; besides, that such assemblies of Jacobites in different quarters of the kingdom, would give room for a suspicion that some plot was carrying on. He therefore contented himself with writing his reasons to the duke of Athol, and with assuring him, that he was ready to enter into all his measures, and that during my absence he would engage his chief friends to have every thing ready on my return.

Next day my messenger arrived from the duke of Gordon with a letter from the duke, in which he expressed a great impatience to see me, and promised to do every thing that depended upon him before I left the earl of Errol. As I proposed to divide the kingdom with Mr. Moray, and he is well known on the south side of the river Tay, I thought it was too great a risk for him to go south, especially as
the

the English for these three years past had put a price upon his head, having offered by proclamation 500 pounds sterling to the person that should seize him ; I entreated him therefore to take the northern provinces, and to make a progress among the Highlanders, while I visited the rest of the kingdom. I found him willing to undertake any thing, even to go to his own country ; but I contented myself with taking letters from him to his elder brother the chief of the family of Moray, and for his other friends in the south.

The earl of Errol, who was very apprehensive lest Mr. Moray should be known, and the secret by that means discovered, observed to me, that he had reason to believe that I would easily gain the dukes of Gordon and Athol, the marquis of Drummond, and the earl of Broadalbin ; that these four lords are able to answer for all the Highlands, and that therefore the journey of Mr. Moray might perhaps not be necessary. On this representation I changed my opinion, and begged Mr. Moray to wait till he heard from me before he began his journey, chusing rather to take the whole fatigue upon myself, than expose him, and thereby risk a discovery of the secret without an absolute necessity. Having asked the character of the duke of Athol, the earl of Errol told me, that the duke was about forty years of age, that he is very opinionated, but a man of great probity, and that his word is inviolable, and may be depended upon ; that he is haughty and passionate ; that he is very powerful in several counties, and can raise 9 battalions among his vassals, of 600 men each, armed, regimented, and disciplined ; that he had caused them to assemble and encamp every summer, since the act of security had authorised the lords to arm and discipline their vassals ; that he
himself

himself had seen them encamped the year before, and that the duke could arm a greater number, and that by the interest of his friends he is absolutely the most powerful lord in Scotland. I began then to think it was time to act, but not chusing to engage myself too much with the friends of the k— of England, till I knew thoroughly the intentions of the duke of Hamilton, I acquainted the duke of Athol that I was coming into his neighbourhood, and that I would see the other lords on my journey, so that he would have full time to take measures with his friends. I wrote also to the laird of Boyn, and mentioned to him that I would stop at his brother-in-law's the laird of Pourie, and entreat him to let me hear from him there.

At the same time, the better to manage the duke of Hamilton, I dispatched a messenger to Edinburgh to Mr. Hall, his confidant. I expressed my surprize that he had not kept his word with me, as the earl of Errol had neither brought me a letter from him, nor a commission from the duke of Hamilton, that his conduct did not correspond with what he had written to me at the countess of Errol's; that I had orders to address myself principally to the duke, who I knew was the soul of the whole affair; therefore I desired that he would point me out the way how I might see him in safety; that I had hitherto entered into no measures with any one, nor would I, till I had his answer; that I had some things to mention to him, which would give him satisfaction; that it was now in his power to cover himself with immortal honour, and to render himself greater than any of his ancestors; that I would remove all difficulties, and shew him easy expedients that he did not think of; that if he neglected this occasion, it would never return; that he would ruin

not only his country but himself, the English having been too much irritated by him not to crush him; that I was going to set out on my journey, and would on a certain day be with one of his friends, whom I named, within a day's journey of Edinburgh, desiring Mr. Hall, who was there often, to be there that day, to shew my letter to the duke of Hamilton, to rectify the mistake about the letter from the k—, and to bring me the duke's answer. I assured him, that I was grieved to hear of his indisposition, and added whatever I thought could express a hearty friendship and a strong desire to satisfy him in every thing.

I wrote also at the same time to the duchess of Gordon, having been advised by the duke her husband, and the earl of Errol, to address myself to her, because the Presbyterians, after they had abandoned the duke of Hamilton, had applied to the dukes of Gordon and Athol, and they had sent them to the duchess of Gordon, who, residing generally at Edinburgh, could easily see them, and receive their propositions. As these lords were narrowly watched in the country, I mentioned to the duchess another place for her to send her answer to.

I remained two days more at the earl of Errol's, to give the messenger time to deliver the letters; then having left a letter to desire Mr. de Ligondes to keep off the coast somewhat longer; I travelled four days and four nights, and arrived at the laird of Pourie's early in the morning, where I found the laird of Boyn, who told me, that the duke of Athol had received my answer, that he was gone to the further part of his territories to confer with his friends, and would return in ten days; that he begged of me to wait for him at lord Stormont's;
that

that the earl of Strathmore desired to see me as soon as possible ; that I would find a great union and perfect unanimity among the chiefs ; that they had taken kindly my remonstrances with regard to the differences among their families, and that I would have great cause to be satisfied.

I conferred some time with the laird of Pourie. He is about fifty years of age, and of great authority in his country. He told me, that the people were so irritated against the English, and so fond of the k— of England, that he and the other chiefs of the country were importuned by them every day ; that he durst shew himself but very seldom among his vassals, as they pressed him continually to give them leave to arm, reproaching him that the nobility had sold and ruined their country, while the people fought only to take arms in its defence ; and that the same spirit prevailed over the whole kingdom. He wanted much to keep me with him a few days, but I was obliged to be next day at the place where I had appointed to meet Mr. Hall, and I was very glad to take advantage of the absence of the duke of Athol, while I endeavoured to do my utmost with the duke of Hamilton. I promised therefore to the laird of Pourie to see him on my return, and begged of him to visit lord Panmure, his neighbour and friend, and to inform me by the laird of Boyn, when I could see him. I did not want this last to have any knowledge of what regarded the duke of Hamilton, therefore I agreed with him, that to avoid going backwards and forwards, which would give the inquisitive room for suspicion, he should remain with the laird of Pourie till the return of the duke of Athol ; that I would give them notice, and that they should then come and meet me at lord Stormont's. From thence I
went

went the same day to lord Strathmore, who is lord Middleton's nephew by his sister, is bordering on fifty years of age, and his family, of which he is the head, is one of the most antient in Scotland. He received me kindly, and expressed great zeal for the cause, confirming to me what the laird of Pourie had told me as to the general inclination of the people. He introduced me to the laird of Auchterhouse, his brother, who being come from the west country, assured me of the good disposition of the Presbyterians. Having told me, that he was intimate with the laird of Carnwath, who has large territories in that country, I begged of him to inform him of my arrival, and to procure me an interview with him, and likewise to question him more particularly as to the intention of the Presbyterians. Lord Strathmore confirmed to me the account I had already received of the duke of Hamilton, &c. adding, that he had always been that duke's friend; but that he had lately broke with him upon his hindering the people to take arms; that he himself has all possible deference for the orders of the k— of England; but that being upon the spot, he knows best what is for his service; that he would willingly follow the duke of Hamilton, if he would act at all; but since he will do nothing, he thinks it his duty to act without him; that I would find the duke of Athol and all the rest in the same opinion. He told me, that I ought not to neglect the duke of Hamilton; but that at the same time, the well-affected expected that I should communicate nothing to him of their affairs, as they could no longer trust him. All the rest, whom I have seen, or with whom I have corresponded by letters or otherwise, have required the same thing of me, so that it is sufficient to have remarked it once for all. Having avoided entering upon the
affair

affair till the duke of Athol's return, that I might have leisure to penetrate into the designs of the duke of Hamilton, I left lord Strathmore, and arriving at the place, whither I had desired the duchess of Gordon to address her letters, a packet from her was put into my hands, in which she informed me,

‘ That she saw some of the leading men among the
 ‘ Presbyterians every day; that they were very zealous
 ‘ for the interest of the k— of England; that when
 ‘ she acquainted them with my arrival in the country,
 ‘ they seemed greatly pleased; that she begged of
 ‘ me to come to Edinburgh to confer with them;
 ‘ that their demands were very reasonable; that be-
 ‘ fore I should set out for Edinburgh, I should send
 ‘ her my promise not to trust to the duke of Ha-
 ‘ milton; that she had in her hands certain proofs
 ‘ that that duke had been the cause of all the mis-
 ‘ fortunes in Scotland; that under pretence of en-
 ‘ tering into my views, he would prevent me from
 ‘ taking any effectual measures, and would tell me
 ‘ in the end, that he had no longer any credit
 ‘ with any party; that I could not be ignorant that
 ‘ the Jacobites had broke with him, and that she
 ‘ would soon make it evident to me, that the Pres-
 ‘ byterians could no longer bear to hear his name
 ‘ mentioned; that as she had heard that Mr. Hall
 ‘ was to go and meet me, she advised me to be
 ‘ upon my guard; that he was an honest man, but
 ‘ saw only with the duke of Hamilton's eyes.’

I did not think it proper to send her the promise which she required; but I answered, that I would endeavour to see her at Edinburgh as soon as possible; I begged of her to keep the Presbyterians in their present good disposition, that I would be faithful to them, would keep their secret, not only as
 to

to him whom they distrusted, but with regard to all others, and would very soon let them hear from me. I sent her at the same time a letter from the queen of England, in which that princess was at great pains to justify the duke of Hamilton against the accusations of the duke of Gordon, and laid all the blame of the misfortunes of Scotland on the want of succours.

Having dispatched the duchess of Gordon's servant, I travelled all night, and next morning I arrived at that gentleman's, where Mr. Hall waited for me. He made me a thousand compliments from the duke of Hamilton. He told me, that his illness had hindered him from sending me an answer by the earl of Errol; that the duke begged of me to send him the letters which I had got for him, to inform him of the propositions which I had to make to him from the k—, to come directly to Edinburgh, and that he would do his utmost endeavours to see me.

Having been informed that the duke had no longer any credit with the friends of the k— of England from so many quarters, and by so many different persons, that I could no longer doubt of it, I had now only the hopes, that he had still interest with the Presbyterians to intrigue with them about his own elevation to the throne, which in my first journey I understood he had very much at heart, and I durst not open myself on that subject to Mr. Hall, who is absolutely in the interest of the k— of England, so that I was obliged to talk with him only in general terms.

I told him, that I was much afflicted on account of the illness of the duke of Hamilton, that I would
willingly

willingly send him the letters that I had for him, by which he would see the little reason he had to complain of the king : but that I was not entrusted with any propositions, and had only come to receive those of the Scots ; nevertheless, if any thing happened during the course of the negotiation, in which I could serve him, he would find me most ready to give him all the satisfaction in my power ; that I would willingly proceed to Edinburgh, if he would assure me that my journey should not be fruitless ; but to go thither without being sure of seeing him, would be too rash a step ; that the city being at present very empty, it would be impossible for a stranger to be there without being remarked ; that I despised the dangers to which my duty exposed me ; but that it would be acting contrary to the rules of prudence to expose myself there needlessly ; that he doubtless knew the mind of the duke of Hamilton as to this, and I begged him to tell it me without disguise.

He answered, that the duke of Hamilton earnestly desired to see me, but to tell me the truth, he did not believe that he could ; that he kept his bed, and was always surrounded with his domestics ; that the duchess his wife never left him ; that he was transported to hear that the king had done him the honour to write to him, but that he had likewise expected a letter from the queen of England ; that as that princess had not written to him, he concluded that the scheme was not approved of by her ; and that he had too much respect for her judgment to concern himself with an affair that she did not approve of ; that he had suspected that I had no propositions to make to him ; but that nevertheless I must begin with making propositions, otherwise no treaty could be concluded.

D

I an-

I answered, that I would not suffer myself to be so easily blinded ; that the duke of Hamilton had recourse to very weak shifts ; that he wanted only to find fault, and complained, when he had all the reason in the world to think himself greatly honoured ; that if the queen had written to him he would have bethought himself of some other cause of discontent ; that he well knew the K— of England had not written to him without consulting with the queen his mother ; that I could not promise to go to Edinburgh to no purpose ; that I had no time to waste ; that he need not expect propositions from me, or that I would persuade him to take arms ; that I had not charged myself with arguments on that subject ; that he had been a long time soliciting succours ; that I was disposed to promise him whatever supplies he wanted ; that he had nothing to do therefore, but to consider what plan to go upon, and what he was able to effect, as the succours would be regulated according to the state of the nation and its forces ; that therefore it was his part to make proposals to me, and that after I had fully weighed them, I would do my utmost to satisfy him ; that I had a very full authority to promise every thing that I thought necessary, and that I would not hesitate in agreeing to whatever I thought reasonable. I had reflected so fully upon the state and the forces of Scotland, that I was sure I could be able to answer all that they could allege, to prove the necessity of great supplies, therefore I risked nothing in talking so boldly.

Mr. Hall answered me, that I ought to know the Duke of Hamilton better than to scruple at these difficulties, which it was his custom to start on all occasions, though he afterwards thought no more of them ; that he would relate to him my answer,
and

and expected to find him very dry ; that he had charged him to learn from me, what succours the King would be pleased to grant to the Scots, and that he would soon return to me with the opinion of the Duke of Hamilton on that subject. I told him, that it was not yet time to talk of succours ; that it was proper first to know perfectly the forces which the well-affected could raise, and the means they have to support them ; and that after having reasoned on these points according to the rules of war, we might examine by the same rules, what succours they would need ; and that I believed he (Mr. Hall) would not enter upon these particulars, they being out of his sphere ; and that mean while I would tell him, that although the King had a great desire to assist the Scots, his Majesty did not pretend to make their cause his principal affair ; that he was very willing to assist the Scots to make war, but that he was no way disposed to make war for them, and at his own expence ; that however dry my answer was, his commission was still more so ; and that I had no suspicion of so much coldness on the part of the Duke of Hamilton.

He then asked me, if the King would not grant 10,000 men ; I answered, No ; and that I did not believe that they could be so unreasonable to ask them. However, said he, the Duke of Hamilton believes that it is the least that can be asked. You may tell the Duke of Hamilton, said I to him, that it is not usual to behave thus to a great King ; demands ought to be supported by reasons given in with them ; has he given you any ? He confessed he had not received any. Upon which I told him, that I advised him not to ask the half ; that perhaps, after examining every thing, it would be found, that the Scots had no need of any foreign
D 2 troops ;

troops ; that it would be needless to talk more of it, as he was not more fully instructed ; and therefore I desired him to tell the Duke of Hamilton from me, that I had something very particular to say to him, which I would mention to nobody but himself ; that I had so much respect for him, that I would wait yet four days, before I entered into a negotiation with the other lords, and that I would expect his answer at the Marquis of Drummond's.

I gave the letters for the Duke of Hamilton to Mr. Hall, and I begged of him to tell me what he thought of the inclinations of the Earl of S—— his brother. I gave him also a copy of questions concerning the state of the nation, and entreated him to tell the Duke of Hamilton that it would be necessary to answer all these particulars, before he talked of succours. Mr. Hall returning to Edinburgh, I went the same day to Lord Stormont at Scoon, who having been informed in February by the Earl of Errol, that I was coming to Scotland, had been more active than all the rest. He had made a progress through all the south of Scotland, where he is very powerful, and having also visited several of the chief men in the north of England, he had returned to Scoon to meet me. I did not think proper to stay there, being desirous to know what I had to expect from the Duke of Hamilton, before I engaged with the others. Lord Stormont confirmed to me, what the Earl of Strathmore and the Laird of Boyn had told me of the Duke of Athol, who having appointed a day with him for my return to Scoon, and having agreed on the name I should take, and a pretence for my continuing some time, I went to the Marquis of Drummond's, where I arrived next day. He appeared so zealous, that I made not the least difficulty to give the King's letter,

letter, and that of the K— of England. He expressed great acknowledgments for the honour his Majesty did him. He told me, that having learned from his brother Lord John Drummond, the occasion of my journey, and that I was to visit him, he had sent to all his friends to know their opinion of the questions I had proposed, concerning the state of the nation and its wants, and that he waited their answer; that his brother had gone to another quarter, and that he would return that day or to-morrow. He sent notice to the Laird of Abercarney his neighbour, who came to see me the same day. After having seen the letter of Mr. Moray, his brother, and spoke of affairs in general, he told me, that he would consult with Lord Drummond and some other Lairds, and give me a memorial signed by their hands, in answer to the questions I had proposed, as preliminaries to a treaty.

Lord John Drummond arriving next day, he told me, that he had been with the Earl of Linlithgow, Lord Kilfyth, and the Laird of Coxtoun, who had expressed great joy at the fine occasion of serving their K— and their country: that the first and last had promised to set their hands to every thing that could be expected of them, and that Lord Kilfyth appeared to be of the same mind, excepting only that he declared he could not desert the Duke of Hamilton, and desired to act in concert with him. He, however, charged Lord John Drummond to beg of me to come to them to consult about more effectual measures.

Next day, the brother of Mr. Moray, whom I had sent by the way of Holland, came to Lord Drummond's; he had landed only two days before in Scotland; for having been taken ill in Holland,

he had embarked on board a Scottish vessel, in hopes of hastening his arrival, but had been three weeks in his passage to Edinburgh. I begged of him, as he had come so late, to keep at home, especially as some of the court of St. Germain had given intelligence that he was to come over with me, it would be necessary to take great precaution: I charged him only to support the well-affected in their present disposition, after my return to France, and to keep himself quiet till he should hear of my departure.

About this time, I received the answer of Mr. Hall, mentioning that he had found the Duke of Hamilton in a most distressed condition, reduced to the last extremity, breathing with the utmost difficulty, having had twenty-nine fits of the fever: that the Duke was in despair that he could not see me; that he loved and esteemed me; that he would willingly give his life to have some discourse with me; that he made not the least doubt of my friendship, therefore begged of me to excuse his not answering the King's letter, nor that of the K— of England; that he would do himself that honour with the first opportunity, after he had recovered his strength; that he would concur in all reasonable measures for the restoration of the K— of England; but it was his opinion, that Prince ought not to risk himself, without a considerable body of troops, and that he wished me a good voyage.

I was well informed, that the Duke of Hamilton was not so bad as Mr. Hall would make me believe. I knew not what to think of his way of acting: sometimes I imagined that he was reconciled underhand to the court of London; and at other times I believed that he only made so many difficulties, that

that he might be the more entreated. I thought therefore that I ought not to make him too many advances ; that if he had made his peace with Queen Anne, I ought to conceal from him the state of our affairs, and that if he wanted to make himself be entreated, I ought to change my course, and by neglecting him, would make him court me.

I was quickly convinced, that he did not act sincerely ; for having learned that Mr. Hall had written by the same messenger to two of his friends, I found means to get possession of the letters, in which he had written more openly. He says in the letters, that the Duke of Hamilton had thought, that if he appeared too forward to accept of the succours of the King, that would put the K— of England under a necessity of coming over to Scotland, because the King would have just reason to be dissatisfied with that Prince, if he refused to go thither, when his subjects invited him, and armed themselves to receive him ; and fearing also that the King only made these advances to excuse himself from doing any thing else in favour of that Prince, the Duke had judged it proper, in order to embarrass his Majesty (these are his very words) to demand, that the King should secure a considerable party in England, or that his Majesty should send a body of troops for the conquest of England, to act in conjunction with the Scottish army ; that the duke of Hamilton had it in his power to place the K— of England on the throne of Scotland, without the assistance of France, although that Prince should bring no more than a single page with him ; but in that case, the K— of England would depend too much upon his subjects.

I saw by these letters, that the Duke of Hamilton sought underhand to break all the measures of the well-affected, and then to excuse himself to them by false pretences, which might lessen their confidence in the King's goodness, and their attachment to France.

I was so incensed at this proceeding, that I would write no more either to the Duke of Hamilton or Mr. Hall ; I said only by word of mouth to him who brought me the letter, that I had no answer to return. But upon reflecting that the Duke pretended to be able to put the K— of England upon the throne without the assistance of France, and that at the same time he endeavoured to hinder that Prince from coming over to Scotland, it came into my mind, that he had still an intention of seizing the throne himself.

I was well assured that he would not have the least support from the nobility and gentry. The Presbyterians then were his only resource ; and as I was not sufficiently informed of their dispositions, I resolved forthwith to give my whole attention to know them thoroughly, with the intention, that if I found them still in his interest, to fall upon some means of renewing my correspondence with the Duke. I dispatched a courier to the Duchess of Gordon, and to excuse my going to Edinburgh, I represented to her, that since she so greatly distrusted the Duke of Hamilton, it would not be proper for me to come so near him ; that he would infallibly learn that I was in the city, and that from thence great inconveniencies would ensue : I therefore begged of her to send me the particulars of what the chiefs of the Presbyterians had proposed to her, and the same day I returned to Lord Stormont's. The
Duke

Duke of Athol had not yet returned, and while I waited for him, I had a visit from the Laird of Auchterhouse, Lord Strathmore's brother. He gave me the answer of the Laird of Carnwath, to the letter that he had written to him at my desire, and begged of me to excuse his friend if he did not come and wait upon me, as he was detained by very pressing affairs at one of his seats near Edinburgh. He told me, that the Laird of Carnwath had authorised him to sign in his name all that should be regulated with me. His letter mentions, " that he came from his estate
 " in the west-country, where he had carefully en-
 " deavoured to inform himself of the disposition of
 " the Presbyterians ; that he had been agreeably
 " surpris'd to find an alteration in their sentiments
 " almost miraculous. You cannot imagine, says
 " he, the surprizing change happened in that coun-
 " try, in the maxims and inclinations of the inha-
 " bitants, the justness of their opinion with regard
 " to the present state of affairs, their zeal, and their
 " eagerness to undertake something for their King
 " and their country, and this disposition does not
 " prevail in some corners only, but is universal
 " throughout all the counties. Can it be possible,
 " that so fine an opportunity will not be laid hold
 " of ?" The Laird of Carnwath is grandson of the famous Mr. Lockhart, who was ambassador in France within these fifty years ; he has more than 100,000 livres of land-rent ; he was named one of the commissioners for the treaty of Union. He protested against all their proceedings, and always opposed the Union in Parliament.

The Laird of Stanhope mentioned the same things to Lord Stormont, concerning the Presbyterians ; and the Laird of Desterenson, a great Presbyterian, whose estates lie in these counties, coming to Scoon,

con-

confirmed to me all that I have mentioned, and that his vassals earnestly pressed him to take off the mask, and to join the friends of the K— of England. The national assembly of the Presbyterian clergy, being then assembled, approved of every thing that the provincial Synods and Presbyteries had done against the Union, and that assembly rejected the motion of the Earl of Glasgow, the Queen's commissioner for congratulating that Princess upon the success and conclusion of the treaty.

Happening about this time to fall sick, I saw plainly that it would be impossible for me to go to all the Peers and Lairds who had desired to see me. I therefore dispatched to them several messengers to inform them of my illness, and to entreat them either to come to me, or to declare their sentiments to those of their friends who proposed to wait upon me. The latter expedient was most agreeable to them; but Lord Kilfyth who was an intimate friend of Lord Stormont, and who was wont to come often to Scoon, answered, that he was indispensably obliged to be at Edinburgh next day, but that he would not fail to be in a few days at Scoon. Lord Stormont, on giving me Lord Kilfyth's letter, bade me prepare for an engagement, as his friend had gone to Edinburgh for no other purpose but to consult the Duke of Hamilton, and to receive his instructions; that I had need to be firm and always on my guard, for if I should yield in the least, I would find myself the dupe of those two Lords; that he was fully assured of the good intentions of Lord Kilfyth, but that he was too much attached to the Duke of Hamilton, who does not act sincerely.

The Duchess of Gordon having insisted on seeing me at Edinburgh, I answered her, that being sick a-bed, it was impossible for me to undertake that
jour-

journey, therefore, that she ought not to neglect to send me not only the particulars, but also a person fully instructed to tell me all that she had to say, more especially as the time was hastening. She submitted to my arguments, and dispatched to me a gentleman named Strachan, in whom the chief of the Presbyterians had an entire confidence. Besides the Duchess of Gordon's letter of credence which was very ample, he gave me a memorial written with the hand of the Laird of Kerland, the most leading man among the Presbyterians, and chief of one of the most considerable families in Scotland, of which the following is a copy.

A Memorial of the Laird of Kerland.

THE Presbyterians are resolved never to agree to the Union, because it hurts their consciences, and because they are persuaded that it will bring an infinite number of calamities upon this nation, and will render the Scots slaves to the English. They are ready to declare unanimously for K— James, and only beg his majesty that he will never consent to the Union, and that he will secure and protect the protestant religion. The declaration with regard to religion ought to be in general terms.

Those among the Presbyterians, who are called Cameronians, will raise 5000 men, of the best soldiers in the kingdom; and the other Presbyterians will assemble 8000 more. They beg that the K— of England would give them officers, especially general officers, and send them powder, for they have arms already. Whenever his Br—— majesty shall have granted the preceeding demands, and shall have promised to follow his supplies in person to Scotland, they will take arms against the government, and
will

will give such other assurances of their fidelity, as shall be desired. Provided powder be sent them, they engage to defend themselves in their country with their own forces alone, against all the strength of England for a year, till the arrival of their K—, and the succours that he should bring with him. They leave it to that Prince to bring with him such a number of troops as he shall think proper. They believe, however, that he will not have occasion for a great number. They have a correspondence with the north of Ireland*, and they are certain, that the Scots who inhabit that province will declare for them. This memorial being too general, I desired some explanations of it from Mr. Strachan, when he produced a more ample instruction, of which the following is the substance.

A particular Instruction.

That the Presbyterians in the western and southern counties, namely, in Clydesdale, Nithsdale, Galloway, Aire, Kirkubright, with those of the provinces of Tiviotdale, Tweeddale, and the Forest, are resolved to take arms, and to declare for the K— of England, and to raise 13,000 men, whom they are in a condition to be able to maintain.

That in order to address themselves to the K— of England, they have put their interests into the hands of the Laird of Kerland, the Laird of Gaston, the Laird of Kingsmilside, and Mr. Areskine, uncle of the earl of Buchan. That the Lairds being informed that the K— of England had an entire confidence in the Duke of Hamilton, they had addressed themselves to him, and had proposed to him in the end

* The inhabitants of the north of Ireland are also Presbyterians.

of the former year, to take arms and disperse the Parliament, and that the Duke had charged them not to stir, they declaring that they had obeyed him with great regret.

That shortly after the Laird of Nisby, of the family of Hamilton, a relation and intimate friend of the Duke, had insinuated to them that the K— of England was abandoned by France, and that they must look for some other means of delivering their country from slavery. He had proposed to them to offer the crown to the Duke of Hamilton; that they had rejected that proposition, well-knowing that the rest of the nation would never consent to it; that since that time they would have no correspondence with him; that knowing that I was in the country, and had received authority from the King to treat with the nation, they thought that I would put more confidence in a Roman catholic gentleman than in them; and besides, they were watched so narrowly by the government, and by the spies of the Duke of Hamilton, that in order the better to keep the secret, they had judged more proper to send that gentleman than to come themselves.

That they are ready to join themselves to the friends of the K— of England, whether Catholics or Episcopalists; that they would begin, and thereby give an opportunity to the rest to rise; and that they would put the strong castle of Dumbarton, on the river Clyde, into the hands of the person named by the K— of England, and that the largest ships could anchor under the walls of that castle; that they have a perfect knowledge of all the country, that they would seize the ford of Abberfain, and all the other fords of the river Forth; and would thereby keep the passages open for the well-affected in
the

the north. To put them in a condition to take arms, they desire that a vessel loaded with powder may be sent to the mouth of the Clyde, a rich merchant named Walchinslaw, having undertaken to get the ship unloaded; they say that it will be impossible for them to take the field sooner.

That the Duke of Hamilton having told them that the K— of England did not desire them to take arms; they desire that Prince to send them an order for that purpose, or to assure them by a letter addressed to the Duchess of Gordon, that he wants them to arm, and will come shortly after to Scotland; that the best place for his landing is at Kirkubright in the South of Scotland.

That all they ask is liberty of conscience for themselves as well as for the Catholics; and they pray his majesty to refer himself to the first parliament as to the establishment of the episcopal or presbyterian religion. That they will follow the orders of that prince in the most punctual manner; that they do not desire to know what his other friends are to do; but only how they themselves ought to act. That the Laird of Kerland offers to go with another chief to France to invite the K— of England over to Scotland, and to remain as hostages for the fidelity of their party. That as the estates of some of them were confiscated in the reign of Charles II. they hope, that those who have been in possession of those estates since the revolution, and who shall declare for their King on this occasion, shall be preserved by him in the possession of the said estates. That they are sure of the greatest part of the regular troops in Scotland, which will augment their forces upwards of 2000 men. They have given me a list of the officers in each regiment of whose
fide-

fidelity they are doubtful. They believe, that when the Duke of Hamilton shall see a party formed, he will join them, because as he is loaded with debts, and hated by the English, he will have no other resource.

Having considered these propositions, and dreading the arrival of Lord Kilfyth, whom I expected every moment, and who could not have failed to have given information of what passed to the Duke of Hamilton, I thought it best to send back Mr. Strachan. I therefore told him, that he might assure those gentlemen, that their zeal and their design was most agreeable to the K— of England; that his desire is that they should take arms, and that I would represent their good dispositions, and their demands, and would inform them how they were to act; that the Laird of Kerland would do well to keep himself ready to go over to France in case of need: I would regulate the manner of writing to Mr. Strachan to the Laird of Kerland, and to Mr. Walchinslaw, who was to receive the powder, and I begged of them to let me hear from them before my departure. I wrote to the same purpose to the Duchess of Gordon, to be communicated also by her to the chiefs of the Presbyterians.

Not doubting any longer of the designs of the Presbyterians, I now thought only of rendering the design more general, and of engaging in it the most considerable Lords of Scotland. The Duke of Athol being the principal among them, I waited his return with impatience; and he, finding that his journey would be longer than he expected, sent me two of his brothers, Lord James Muray, and his brother, who having married the heiress of the house of Nairn, was become Lord Nairn, and had taken
 3 the

the name and arms of that house. He would never take the oath of allegiance to King William or Queen Anne. They told me, that the duke their brother, was making a tour among his friends and his vassals, and had sent them before him to assure me of his zeal and of his good intentions.

Then finding themselves with Lord Stormont, and the Laird of Auchterhouse, Lord Strathmore's brother, they proposed to send for Lord Strathmore and Lord Kinnaird, and to enter into a negotiation with me. As I did not like that proposal, being firmly resolved to draw the king into no engagement, I answered, that I had all possible deference for them, and for the two other lords, but that it was necessary that they should assemble in a greater number to give authority to the treaty they would make. They answered me, that they acted in the name of several others, as they would let me see; that I could not therefore refuse to enter into a negotiation with them, while they waited the arrival of the Duke of Athol, and that they might assemble in a greater number to put the finishing hand to it.

I answered, that the state of Scotland was, doubtless, very well known to them, and that I had given them full time to inform themselves of it thoroughly; that I had sent them questions containing all the particulars necessary to be known, and that they ought to answer these questions before they thought of any thing else. They replied, that their answer was quite ready, and they shewed it me much the same with that which is here added in the first part of their memorial, excepting the preamble, which they added afterwards; and they assure me, that it was the opinion of all the well-affected. After having read it, they required to see my powers, which I shewed them
very

very readily, having found in their answers to the questions of M. de Chamillart, enough to supply me with arguments against the demand of great succours.

Having read over my powers, they demanded what succours they might expect from his most Christian majesty. I answered, that I was authorised to promise every thing that I should judge necessary; that the succours therefore would be regulated by their wants; for I could never judge it proper to promise them succours, which they had no need of, and by their memorial it did not appear that they were in want of many things. They replied, that they had not a mind to state all their demands, till they had spoke to me concerning the article of Succours; that to render themselves masters of Scotland, they in truth needed nothing but the person of the K— of England, arms, ammunition, and money; but their design being to penetrate into England, and to oblige the English either to submit or to treat with them, they would have occasion for powerful succours to succeed in that enterprize. I answered, that I was not of their opinion, that from the moment they were masters of Scotland, they would need none but their own forces to penetrate into England; that there were no troops in Scotland that could hinder them from assembling; that the English were not in a condition to oppose so considerable an army as that which they proposed to raise; that they could never want provisions in an open and plentiful country; and that they would be able to raise contributions, which would more than supply all their wants, after the example of their forefathers, who in the late wars between Scotland and England in 1639, raised 800 pounds sterling a day, only in the three northern counties of Eng-
E
land,

land, which are the poorest of that kingdom. They agreed, that what I said was reasonable, but the English, said they, will bring home their troops from Flanders, and we will need regular troops to oppose to them. I answered agreeably to my instructions, that it was not yet time to talk of a thing so distant; that at present it was only to be considered what was necessary for them to begin the war; that if the English should bring home their troops from Flanders, it would then be easy for the King to transport troops into England or Scotland; that the number of these troops must be regulated by the number of those which the English shall draw from the Low-Countries; that we must wait till that happen, and then it would be settled what number the King shall give.

But, said they, we have need of troops for a safeguard to the K— of England, and to give time to his friends to assemble. I answered, that since the nation, by their own account, was to rise universally, the K— of England would be in full security, whenever he should arrive among subjects so faithful, and so zealous, and who could assemble in so short a time; that if by the troops they demanded to accompany his person, they meant only a certain number of guards, these might, perhaps, be obtained without much difficulty; but that a body of troops would be of more detriment than service; that foreigners are not used to live upon so little as the Scots; that they did not understand their language; were not of their religion; that it would have the air of a conquest, especially among the English; which opinion would hinder their friends in England from joining them, and even influence them, perhaps, to join the other side. I added, that they needed only to look upon what is at present passing in Hun-

Hungary ; that although that nation is far from being so warlike as the Scotch nation, it has nevertheless opposed the best generals, and oldest troops of the emperor ; that Hungary is full of strongholds, many of which the malecontents have reduced with their own forces, without the assistance of foreign troops ; that it would be much easier for the Scots to make themselves masters not only of Scotland, but also of England, as there is not a single fortified city, not only in Scotland, but in both kingdoms, except Portsmouth on the channel, which is a place of no importance ; and that there are no troops either in England or Ireland to oppose their progress.

That they had no reason to be affrighted at the name of regular troops, as their own would become regulars in the space of fifteen days, all their men being accustomed to the use of the gun from their infancy, all of them also being hunters ; that they were disciplined from the age of twenty-six, and were perfectly acquainted with all the military evolutions ; that naturally they stand fire with so little apprehension and concern, that their recruits have been always as much esteemed as their old soldiers ; that they are accustomed to obedience by the absolute authority which their lords and chiefs have over them ; that experience has often made it appear, that they were a match for regular troops ; that they had almost always beat the best troops of England, witness the defeat of General Mackay in the last war, when 8000 highlanders beat in a pitched battle 6000 old English and Dutch troops ; and, if Cromwel obtained advantages over them, it was owing to their intestine divisions, and not to want of bravery in their troops ; and what gives them still a greater advantage over the English, is, that

they are robust, live hard, and that they would destroy an English army without fighting, merely by fatiguing it.

They made no reply, but still insisted upon a body of troops, saying, that they would be of more service to the King than twenty times their number elsewhere; that as soon as their army entered England, the credit of the Exchequer-bills would fail; and the English would be no longer in a condition to support the war or furnish the subsidies to their allies, which would occasion the greatest confusion among the allied princes, who being only supported by England, would immediately beg a peace on their knees; that if the Scots should make themselves masters of England things would still go better; that at the worst, they could maintain the King of England on the throne of Scotland, and being supported by France would be a continual check upon the English, and hinder them from troubling the designs of the King.

I answered, that their hopes were well founded; that I agreed with them, that it was the interest of the King to support them; but that they ought not to think that his majesty had no other interest but that; that his majesty is powerful enough to bring his enemies to reason without them, but that they were about to be slaves if the King did not take them under his protection; that all that was dear to them in the world was at stake; I begged of them to remember that they had to do with a prince of the utmost penetration, who will never suffer himself to be imposed upon; that it would not look well in them to be teaching him what was his interest; that as they could not give me reasons in support of their demands, nor could make a satisfactory reply to my
answers,

answers, how could they expect that so weak arguments should make an impression upon his majesty.

After having talked a little together, they asked of me, if I would not promise them 5000 men. I answered them that I always kept to the terms of my instructions, to promise them all that I judged necessary ; that I could only judge from reason, and that I could not see any good reasons why they should ask 5000 men ; that their strongest argument was, that they had need of regular troops to oppose to those of England ; to this I had answered, that 5000 men were not sufficient to make head against the enemy, and that if they could not trust to the bravery of their nation, I advised them not to prosecute their design, and that they did not reflect on the difficulty of transporting troops while the enemy were masters of the sea.

They answered, that the enemy's fleets were almost always at Portugal, and on the coasts of Spain ; that twenty privateers could bring them all that they wanted, without there being occasion for a single king's ship, or any transports ; that as the passage was short, 250 men might be put on board each ship without incommoding them ; and that there would not be occasion for much provisions for so short a voyage ; that they would deliver up the fort and city of Inverness, with the port of Cromarty in the north, where the vessels would be safe both from the winds and the enemy, as they are the two finest harbours in the world ; and that they would furnish all that should be necessary for the return of the vessels.

I desired them to observe, that the question was not whether the King could send 5000 men to Scotland ;

land ; but whether they had need of them to deliver them from the yoke of the English ; that they had not yet proved their want of them, and to put an end to the dispute, I would propose a difficulty which I believe they would find it very hard to answer ; that the English had their eyes upon them, being well apprised of the general discontent of their nation ; that as 5000 men could not be embarked without some bustle, on the first news of the preparations the English would not fail to suspect some commotion, and would immediately seize the leading men in Scotland, which would entirely break all their measures, and make their design miscarry without leaving them any hopes of their being able to resume it, since it was not an enterprize to be attempted twice.

I know not whether this reflection had any weight with them, or if they perceived that I sought pretences to avoid promising them any thing ; but they instantly broke off the conferences, and retired into another apartment. They sent the same day for Mr. Graham, formerly king's solicitor, under the late king James, to come and assist them with his advice. After having talked with him, they said, that in the manner that I acted it would be impossible to conclude a treaty ; that they were going to consult with the Duke of Athol ; and the rest went with Mr. Graham. In taking leave of me, they told me, that he had advised them to refer themselves to the King, and to lay aside the design of concluding a treaty, in hopes, that his majesty would judge most properly of their wants, and would be affected with so great a confidence in his goodness.

Lord

Lord Stormont, who was the first that returned, told me, that he had related to the Duke of Athol all that had passed; and that the Duke had approved of the opinion of Mr. Graham, namely, that they needed some troops, but would refer themselves to the King as to their number, and likewise as to all their other supplies, excepting the article of arms, which they said they could not do without. The Duke of Athol having promised to Lord Stormont to come in two days to his house of Huntinghall, within about two miles of Scoon, to be the more at hand I sent to the Laird of Boyn.

The other gentlemen upon their return making some difficulty of quitting their first design of a treaty, this occasioned some disputes between them and Lord Stormont, in which I kept myself neuter. At last the authority of that Lord, which is very considerable among them, carried it. I then told them, that I had not intermeddled in their dispute because it was indifferent to me, either to conclude a treaty, or to accept of their memorial; but at present as they had agreed upon the latter expedient I could not but commend their prudence; that I had been already some time in their country; that my stay in Scotland, if it were too long, might be of dangerous consequence; that if they assembled in greater numbers they might raise a suspicion in the government; that although I had signed a treaty with them, I would always be obliged to begin anew with the gentlemen in the other counties, who might not be, perhaps, in every thing of their opinion, which would occasion a dangerous confusion; but, by the expedient they had embraced, they would gain time, and the King could more easily judge of what he might expect from their nation. They answered, that I need not fear that the sentiments of

the rest of the gentlemen would be different from theirs; that they were too well informed to be mistaken in that. Nevertheless, to gain time, to avoid numerous meetings, and to shew their confidence in the King's goodness, they had approved of the proposal of Lord Stormont.

Upon this they begged of me to tell them frankly what sum of money they might expect; adding, that it would be impossible for them to begin without having a fund for the first expences of the undertaking. They desired that I would put the finishing hand to their memorial; but I begged of them to excuse me as it did not suit with my character; and as to what regarded the money, I answered according to my instructions, that as his majesty did not abandon the Hungarians when they took arms, without any preceeding convention with him, it might be well expected that he would not abandon a nation that had been always an ally of his crown.

They answered, that Hungary was a rich country, but that Scotland was poor; that they were as forward and willing as the Hungarians, but had not the same means; that a sum of money to begin with would be absolutely necessary; that the King would be of their opinion, upon considering their representation of the state of the nation; but that since I did not chuse to open myself further on that article, they referred themselves in that, as in every thing else, to his majesty.

They next proposed that I should promise them in writing their re-establishment in their ancient privileges in France, and that the King would engage, that they should be comprehended in the future
treaty

treaty of peace. I answered according to my instructions, that I could promise nothing in writing, except in signing a treaty, which they had not thought proper to conclude: but that I could assure them that their antient privileges were not abrogated, but while the Scots followed the law and destiny of England; that when they acted as an independant crown, and observed the antient alliances, his majesty would allow them to enjoy their antient privileges, which he looks upon as suspended, till the Scots should return to the observance of their antient maxims and the true interest of their country; and that his Majesty would cause them to be comprehended in the treaty of general peace. They were satisfied with this answer, and manifested a great acknowledgment for his majesty's goodness. I immediately dispatched several messengers express to different Lairds, informing them, that the gentlemen had chosen rather to make a representation of their wants than to conclude a treaty. The rest approved of their determination.

The Duke of Athol arriving at his seat of Huntinghall, those who were at Scoon went to wait on him, and next day they shewed me a draught of their Memorial, in which they neither required a certain number of troops, nor a certain sum of money, but referred themselves absolutely to the King. I was not yet able to go abroad, having been extremely bad. The Duke of Athol, who is also of a very tender constitution, likewise fell sick, which obliged him to wait till I recovered my strength so far as to be able to visit him.

About three in the morning, Lord Kilsyth arrived from Edinburgh, and wanted to enter immediately into my apartment; but Lord Stormont hearing of his

his design, prevented him, being very glad, as he told me afterwards, to have some previous conversation with him, that he might be able to inform me of his intentions, having some distrust of him since he heard that he had gone to consult the Duke of Hamilton.

Lord Stormont having prevailed on Lord Kilfyth to go to bed, came to me. He told me, that the other had owned to him, that the Duke of Hamilton had been greatly surprized at my long stay so near the Duke of Athol's: that he believed my illness only a pretence; and that Lord Kilfyth was come by his direction to prevent my doing any thing without him. He then gave me the rough-draught of their Memorial, with leave to read it to his lordship; but at the same time he desired me to conceal from him all that related to the Duke of Athol; and told me, that this Duke advised me not to neglect the Duke of Hamilton; that, notwithstanding the many reasons he had to complain of him, he would willingly forget what had passed, and join with him in the common cause, the moment he should see him fairly embarked in it; but not before.

Lord Kilfyth came to me early the next morning, and told me, that if the Duke of Hamilton had thought I intended to stay so long in Scotland, he would have found out ways to see me; that he imagined I should have returned, as soon as I had received his answer by Mr. Hall; that his health grew better every day, and that it would not be so difficult for him now to make an appointment with me; that he complained of my treating with others without his knowledge, and said, it was not using him like a friend.

I an-

I answered, that I was really very much the Duke of Hamilton's friend and servant ; but that friendship ought never to be considered in public affairs ; that I had given him the preference ; that he had trifled with me, and that I was by no means disposed to neglect the service of the King to please my friend : that he was mistaken, if he imagined I was come into Scotland only to pay him compliments ; that, since his health mended so fast, I hoped I should see him at last ; but that I would not stir a step, till I should be sure of what I was doing ; that he had only to let me know the time and place of meeting, and I would not fail to be there.

In return to this, the Duke of Hamilton sent me word, that he was not yet well enough to leave Edinburgh ; but that as soon as he should be able to go to one of his country-seats, he would let me know it ; and in the mean time he desired me to inform the King, that nothing could contribute so much to his service, as the gaining of Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin.

I answered, that I was not come into Scotland to ask the Duke of Hamilton's advice about the King's affairs ; that his Majesty did not want it ; that the Duke did not deal fairly ; that he used tricks unbecoming a person of his rank ; that he pretended to want to treat, but did not take any measures for it ; that I was tired of all his shuffling evasions ; and that, if he would not do any thing, I should perhaps find means to save Scotland without him.

You think so, said Lord Kilfyth ; but you will not find that so easy as you imagine. Enow will give you fair words and promises ; but that will be all they will do. I answered, that I would see.

He

He left me, went to see the Duke of Athol, spent part of the evening in conference with the other Lords, and afterwards returned to me in a great heat.

I did not think, said he to me, that such advances had been made to you as I have just now been informed of. I hope, continued he, you do not intend to exclude the Duke of Hamilton.

I answered, that I had no such design: that, if the Duke excluded himself, I could not help it. But, said he, how do you find the others disposed? Very well, answered I: they will be extremely glad to have him in their party; but they are determined to act without him, if he continues to trifle as he has done hitherto: but, my Lord, continued I, to cut short this matter, if he has charged you with any thing particular, you will do well to let me know it. If you are come only to discover what is doing here, we are both agreed, and consequently you will gain nothing by it.

He desired me to shew him the Memorial, of which the others had spoken to him. I read it to him, and then asked him what he thought of it. He answered, that he liked it very well, except the article in which they submitted every thing intirely to his Majesty's pleasure; adding, that, in his opinion, it would be right to demand a certain number of troops, and a certain sum of money, and that, in other respects, he approved of it.

This answer occasioned a long dispute, in which I repeated the same arguments that I had used with the others. I sent for Lord Stormont and the Laird
of

of Boyn : and Lord Kilfyth having told them that the Duke of Hamilton had charged him to demand eight thousand men, and a certain sum of money, they answered, that they would consider of it with their friends.

When these gentlemen were gone, he desired me to send a copy of the Memorial to the Duke of Hamilton : I answered, that the Memorial not being mine, I was not at liberty to dispose of it as I pleased.

The next day, he made the same proposal to the others. They refused him ; adding, that, to satisfy the Duke of Hamilton, and put it out of his power to say they had slighted his advice, they were ready to demand eight thousand men, and a certain sum of money ; but still submitting themselves, with respect to both these articles, to whatever the King should think proper to grant them.

Lord Kilfyth answered, that he could not agree to the submitting of the matter so intirely to the King, and that they ought to insist positively upon their demands.

The others replied, that the Duke of Hamilton ought to be satisfied with their condescension, and the regard they had for him : that they were sincere : that their design really was to deliver their country from slavery, and to restore their K— (the Chevalier de St. George) and that they would not make a positive demand of any thing but what was absolutely necessary : that he might therefore chuse, either to promise that Duke Hamilton and he would sign the Memorial with the addition they had now made to it, contrary to their judgment, or to refuse it.

Lord

Lord Kilfyth launched out into a flow of words, reproaching them with not understanding their own interests, and telling them, that the Union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain would be so prejudicial to France, and the rising of the Scots to prevent it, so advantageous to that nation, that the King could never give enough to prevent the one, or to bring about the other.

I feared the consequences of this speech ; and therefore interrupted him somewhat shortly in this place, telling him, that he was mistaken : then addressing myself to the others, Gentlemen, said I, I do not expect that the King will give you, either the number of troops, or the sums of money, which Lord Kilfyth demands ; and if you will be advised by me, you will not mention them in your Memorial. They answered, that the Duke of Hamilton did not think the King would refuse them, and that, at the conclusion of each article, they would oblige themselves to accept of whatever he should think proper to give them. They desired me to inform his Majesty of their intentions in that respect ; and said, that, to give the greater weight to my testimony, they would then add to the Memorial an article, by which they would refer themselves to me as to several things they had to say to me, which would render the Memorial too long, if written in it.

Lord Kilfyth, nettled to the quick, got up, and went away. Soon after, he desired to speak with me alone ; when he used every argument he could think of to persuade me that the Duke of Hamilton's opinion ought to be preferred to every other. I answered, that the question was not about the Duke of Hamilton's opinion, or that of any other ;
3
but

but about their reasons : that I had answered every thing he had said so fully, as not to admit of any reply ; and that all that remained was to know his resolution.

He answered, that he could not separate himself from the Duke of Hamilton. What ! my Lord, said I to him, if the Duke of Hamilton will not serve his King, or his country, would you imitate his example ? He sighed, dropt a few tears, and then said to me, I have done the duty of a good friend. It would be wrong in me to carry my friendship farther. I have pledged my word to the Duke of Hamilton not to sign any thing without him, or before I see him again. I will return to Edinburgh, and disengage my word. I will then go to the Countess of Errol's, where I shall expect you, and there I will sign the Memorial. He repeated the same things to Lord Stormont and the Laird of Boyn, and then set out for Edinburgh.

The Duke of Athol's indisposition increasing, he was visited by a great number of persons of the first quality ; among others, by his brother-in-law Lord Yester, son of the Marquis of Tweeddale, a sensible man, and very zealous for the Union, who being to stay some time with the Duke, his grace sent to me his second brother, to complain of this unseasonable visit, and let me know that it would not be safe for me to come to his house, and he would therefore desire Lord Stormont to answer for him. When Lord Stormont went to him, he shewed him their Memorial finished. The Duke of Athol desired him to sign for him, and then added to it the last clause ; after which he sent me word, that he had thoughts of sending the Laird of Boyn into France in his name, and in that of several others of
the

the chief persons of the kingdom ; and desired me to let him know whether I approved of his going, and whether I would take him with me.

I answered, that not having had orders to carry any one with me into France, I could not take upon myself to do it ; and that as to the Laird of Boyn's journey thither, I did not think myself capable of advising him in that respect. He answered me, that he thought it necessary that gentleman should go, if it were only to bring them back the King's commands in consequence of their Memorial, and that he would send him over to France in a neutral ship.

A fair copy of the Memorial being written, Lord Stormont signed it first, and the Laird of Boyn afterwards.

I told them, that I could not refuse taking charge of their demands, even though I thought them too great ; and that, in my opinion, they would have done better if they had not asked for so great a quantity of arms at once.

They answered, that they had thought the same ; but that the Duke of Athol, and others, had represented that the King would find it difficult to send them frequent supplies, and they therefore judged it most adviseable not to run the hazard of wanting fresh assistances of any thing but money, which might easily be sent them from time to time : that the arms they asked for would enable them to wait the making of those they should afterwards order in their own country ; and their demand consequently tended solely to their not being any farther burthensome to his Majesty : that they would, how-
I
ever,

ever, be satisfied with receiving twenty thousand the first time, and the rest soon after.

Lord Stormont is turned of forty, and he is of the house of Murray. He is rich and powerful on the frontiers of England, and in the middle of Scotland. He is a man of great resolution, strict probity, and uncommon presence of mind. He has signed for ten peers, and a great number of gentlemen in the south of Scotland. He has given me a list of their names, and shewn me several of their letters. The peers are, the Duke of Athol, the Earls of Niddesdale, Traquhair, Galloway, and Home, and the Lords Kenmure, Nairn, Sinclair, Semple, and Olyphant.

In all signatures in Scotland, the peers sign the name of their peerage : the other chiefs, who hold an intermediate rank between the peers and the Gentry, sign the name of their family with their christian name : for example, the Laird of Boyn signs James Ogilvie.

After taking leave of Lord Stormont, who gave me a letter for the King, and another for the King of England, I paid a visit to the Marquis of Drummond. He and his friends had drawn up a Memorial, of which they gave me a copy : but when they had read that which I was charged with, they desired me to suppress theirs ; and Lord Drummond, and the Laird of Logie *, his relation, signed mine in the name of the others, that is to say, of all the chieftains of the Highlanders of the west of Scotland.

* The Laird of Logie signs Tho. Drummond.

Lord Kinnaird signed the Memorial the same day. He refused to see the names of those who had signed before him, saying, that what he did was from a principle of duty, and what he thought every honest man ought to do; and that he wanted not the authority, nor the example, of those who had preceded him.

The Laird of Albercanie, chief of the family of Murray*, signed it for himself and for the Lords of Fintre and of Neuton.

Being obliged to stay some time at Drummond, on account of my health, I desired Lord John Drummond to go and see Lord Brodalbin, and inform him of what was doing for the service of the K—— of England, and for the good of Scotland.

Lord Brodalbin is near eighty years old. He is one of the chiefs of the family of the Campbells; very powerful in the north and north-west of Scotland, and a declared enemy to the Duke of Argyle, who is of the same family, but absolutely sold to the English. He is reckoned the best head in Scotland.

The day after his arrival at the Earl of Brodalbin's, Lord John Drummond wrote to me as follows. " I am well satisfied with my negotiation; " for though Lord Brodalbin would not sign any " paper, I found him as hearty in the cause as can " be wished. He promises to do every thing that " can be expected from a man of his weight, who " is truly zealous for the service of his Majesty " (the Chevalier de St. George); as he will shew,

* The Laird of Albercanie signs Murray.

“ as soon as he shall hear of his being landed. In
 “ the mean time he is to see the Marquis of Drum-
 “ mond again, in order to concert with him mea-
 “ sures for securing the success of the enterprize.”

From Drummond, I went to see the Earl of Strathmore, who signed for himself and for the Earls of Wigton and Lithgow, who had desired him so to do. He also did himself the honour of writing to the K—.

His brother, the Laird of Auchterhouse*, signed for himself and for the Laird of Carnwath, whom I mentioned before.

From hence I went to the Earl of Panmure's, brother-in-law to the Duke of Hamilton. He signed the Memorial, and gave me a letter for his Majesty, and another for the K— of England. It was there that I first learnt the news of the victory of Almanza, which gave great joy to all Scotland.

I staid some days with the Laird of Pourie†, who signed for himself and for the whole shire of Angus, giving me a list of all the nobility of that shire, of whom he said he was certain.

From thence I went to the Duke of Gordon's, in the depth of the North. He would not sign the Memorial, because one of the articles of it required the personal appearance of the K— of England and he could not prevail upon himself to think of exposing this Prince to the dangers of war, though

* He signs Pat. Lyon.

† He signs Tho. Fotheringham.

he owned at the same time that his presence in Scotland would be worth ten thousand men to him. He was likewise not of the opinion of the others, in their demanding of his Majesty to send troops into England or Scotland. His Grace thought, that, if the English should withdraw theirs from the Low-Countries, there would not be any need of this new assistance, and that the King's forces would be more usefully employed against his enemies on that side. However, in his letter to his Majesty, he approves of the Memorial; and he told me, that he found it agreeable to the sentiments of all his friends, with whom he had taken proper measures.

Going to see the Apostolical Vicar, I fell ill a second time at his house.

The Laird of Coxtoun * came to see me there. He is about forty-five years of age, has been in the army, and is rich and powerful between the rivers Spey and Nefs, in the north of Scotland. I had informed him of my arrival, before I left the Earl of Errol's; and Mr. Murray had seen him since. He had visited all his shire, had conferred with the Stuarts, and finding the Memorial agreeable to the sentiments of those he had consulted, he signed it for himself, for the Earls of Murray, and for the Laird of Grant.

After recovering my health a little at the Apostolical Vicar's, I returned back to the Earl of Errol's castle. He had consulted his chief friends, and was not satisfied, (as he declared in a short memorial, which he delivered, signed with his own hand) that a treaty had not been made: because, said he, as the case now stands, we are engaged, and the King

* He signs Alexis Innes.

does not promise us any thing. But after knowing the reasons of the others, he approved them. He mentions this to the King. He signed the Memorial for himself, for the Earls of Caithness, Eglington, Aberdeen, and Buchan, for Lord Saltoun, and for the shires of Aberdeen and Merns.

The Great Marshal being taken ill at Edinburgh, commissioned his cousin, the Laird of Keith, to sign for him, and wrote me word, that he was not able to travel, but desired me to assure the King, that he will be one of the first to join the K— of England upon his arrival. He has likewise promised twenty-eight field-pieces, and two battering cannon, which are in his castle of Dunolgo, in the east of Scotland.

It was now some time since I had heard any thing at all of Lord Kilsyth or the Duke of Hamilton. At length a messenger came express from Edinburgh, with the following letter from Mr. Hall to the Countess of Errol.

“ I beg the favour of you, Madam, to tell Mr.
 “ Hooke, that I am to set out next Monday, to
 “ renew the negotiation with him. I hope he will
 “ not go before I arrive, and that he will not con-
 “ clude any thing with the others ; for I am very
 “ sure he will be satisfied with the proposals I am
 “ commissioned to make.”

I shewed this letter to the Lord High Constable, who told me, the Duke of Hamilton was afraid the design would succeed without him, and that nothing but that fear could make him take such a step.

Mr. Hall arrived two days after. He delivered to me a letter of credence, written with the Duke of Hamilton's own hand, and likewise a letter from his Grace for the King, and another for the K— of England, both in cyphers. They are here annexed. He shewed me copies of them.

In the letter for the K— of England, I found that Mr. Hall had not related faithfully what I had said to him. I complained to him. He acknowledged his error, and gave me that acknowledgment in a writing, wherein he likewise owns, that he had demanded of me only ten thousand men; but he adds in that for the K— of England, that he gives only his own private opinion, having had but very little conversation with the well intentioned, since the separation of the parliament. He adds farther, that he has no doubt of making the K— of England master of Scotland; that he demands that number of troops only to be equally sure of making him master of England; for that it is not worth while to be only King of Scotland. He then expatiates upon the advantages which France will reap from this expedition, and upon the victory of Almanza, which, according to him, will enable the King more than ever to send great succours to the Scots; and he complains, that my journey into Scotland was not secret.

I desired Mr. Hall to remember, that the Duke of Hamilton had proposed, by him, the sending over of only ten thousand men; and that, by Lord Kilfyth, he had desired but eight thousand; and that he had been refused. And thereupon I expressed my surprize, that, after that refusal, he should increase his demands, especially at a time when the
English

English thought of withdrawing their troops from the frontier of Scotland, and were going to send almost all their forces out of England and Ireland into Spain; so that the Scots had less need than ever of foreign troops.

I made Mr. Hall observe likewise, that the Duke, in his letter to the King, says, no one will suffer more by the Union, than himself; whilst he, Mr. Hall, knew full well that he does not lose any thing by it. That on the contrary, the Union is his safety; because it intitles him to the privileges of the peers of England, whose persons cannot be arrested for debt. That the peers of Scotland had not that privilege before the Union; and that the Union will therefore be of great service to the Duke of Hamilton, who is so very much in debt.

Mr. Hall, interrupting me, said, I was a good servant to the King, but not sufficiently indulgent towards my friends. That the Duke of Hamilton knew extremely well, that, since the glorious success in Spain, the King would readily give twenty thousand men, rather than miss so fair an opportunity of ruining England.

I answered, that a very different construction might be put upon his manner of proceeding. That knowing beforehand, the general situation of affairs to be such, as did not admit of the King's giving ten thousand men, he had imagined that the demanding of that number would be sufficient to defeat the enterprize; and that, fearing now lest so compleat a victory should enable his Majesty to give the number at first required, he rose in his demands only to make the affair more difficult.

That the manner of acting of the other Lords was much more noble, and more sincere than that of the Duke. I then read to him some letters I had received that very day, in which I was told, that since the news of the victory in Spain, the people were ready to run to arms ; that it was difficult to restrain them ; and that if the King would not give them all they had asked for, they would be satisfied with a smaller assistance.

Mr. Hall desired to see the memorial which Lord Kilsyth had spoken of. I begged to be excused. At last, he said to me, I see plainly that you are dissatisfied with the Duke of Hamilton ; but, notwithstanding that, you will find him one of the foremost to join the K— of England, however slightly accompanied he may be.

I then asked Mr. Hall, whether that was all he had to say to me, after having boasted in his letter to the Countess of Erroll, that I should be satisfied with the proposals he was commissioned to make.

In answer to this, he gave me a paper written by himself and dictated by the Duke.

He therein represents the present state of the factions in England. He says that the animosity between Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, and the faction of the Whigs, is great ; and that it will not be difficult to gain those two Lords. He likewise proposes a method for exasperating the Dutch against the English.

He

He says it would be right to send 2000 dragoons on foot to Scotland, and that he will take care to have them mounted.

If the K—— of England passes over into Scotland, he desires me also to pass over thither; because he cannot have confidence in any but me.

He asserts that the credit of the bills of the Exchequer will fall in England, the moment the K—— of England shall land in Scotland with troops. He desires me to send him word whether I was not ordered to offer him some personal advantages, either in money, or otherwise, and what those advantages were.

He asks what the King will do for him, in case he is obliged to fly to France, to avoid the persecutions of the English. He adds, that lord Portland had demanded at Ryswick, the restitution of the dutchy of Châtelerault to the house of Hamilton; and thereupon desires me to give him my opinion, whether he ought to demand that dutchy by the ambassadors of England, at the first treaty of peace.

A list has been given me of those who will be fittest to command in each shire.

Three places are proposed for landing at. First, Leith, near Edinburgh. This is thought to be the best of all, because ships can ride there in safety, and the K—— of England will immediately make himself master of the capital, of all the higher courts, of the sources of money and of trade, and will disperse the present government. To this is added, that all
the

the inhabitants of that city are for him ; that it will heighten the reputation of his enterprize, and strike a terror into his enemies ; that the country is rich and abounds in provisions ; that the great strength of the cavalry of his friends is on that side ; that the few who are not well affected to this undertaking, will be hemmed in between the succours and the friends of their K—, who will come in numbers from the northern parts of the country, all the roads being open to them, so that they will soon enter England. Whereas, if the K— of England lands at the mouth of the Tay, it will be easy for the English to seize the passes, and then his troops will have two great arms of the sea to cross to go to Edinburgh ; or else they will be obliged to go upwards of an hundred and fifty miles round about by land, which will give the English time to lay waste the whole country, and to cut off all communication with the south. The consequence of this will be that his Majesty's troops will not be able to penetrate into England all the winter ; whereas two days are sufficient to go from Dunkirk to Edinburgh.

The town of Kirkudbright in the shire of Galloway in the south of Scotland, is proposed as the next best place for landing ; because it is situated in the middle of the Presbyterians, and in the neighbourhood of the shires that will furnish the most horse. It is also, say those who propose this place, within the reach of their friends in the north of England, and is not far distant from Ireland, from whence they expect to get horses and other assistance ; and the passage, add they, from Brest to Kirkudbright is short and easy.

The

The Presbyterians prefer this place ; but others, who would not have the K— of England put himself at first into the hands of the Presbyterians, think otherwise.

The third place proposed for landing at, is the town of Montrose, upon the eastern coast of Scotland, in the shire of Angus. This town is capable of being fortified, being strong by its situation. It stands in a good country, upon an eminence, in a spacious plain, having the sea to the east, the river of Southesk to the south, a great basin of water a league and a half over to the west, and the neck of land towards the north not being above six hundred yards in width. The K— of England will be there in the midst of his best friends. All the shires behind him are staunch to his interest. But he will be exposed to the inconveniencies I mentioned in the article of Edinburgh ; and besides, the ships will not be safe along this coast, and there is not above three or four feet depth of water before the town.

His Majesty's friends and well-wishers beg he will be pleased to chuse which ever of these three places he shall judge most convenient.

They propose the month of August, or September, as the most proper time for sending them succours. They say that the campaign will then be pretty far advanced, and that a small body of troops may be detached without danger ; especially, as the enemy's fleets will then be in Spain, or Portugal : That there will, consequently, be no room to fear for the passage of the succours, especially, if embarked at Dunkirk : That the seas are not much frequented by the enemy's ships of war ; that privateers

vateers from twenty to forty guns will be sufficient ; that by embarking the troops on board these frigates, each ship will be able to act for its own defence, either in concert with the others, or separately ; that the frigates may be easily collected and got ready ; that they will sail faster than transports, and may be at Edinburgh in two days ; that a thousand men may be landed at a time at Leith, which is the port of Edinburgh ; for, that this method of transporting troops being new, will be the less suspected, and therefore be the surer to succeed ; and that it will be right to distribute an equal proportion of arms and ammunition in each frigate, that there may always be a certainty of carrying safe, at least the greatest part.

They have spoken only in general terms, in their memorial of the places where they intend to make their magazines. They refer to me for the detail of that affair, and have given me a list of the following places ; namely,

Inverness, and *Elgin* in the shire of Murray.

The shire of Murray lies near the sea, and is the most fertile county in the north of Scotland.

Inverness is situated at the mouth of the Ness. It is a fortress, in the castle of which the Kings of Scotland have often made their residence ; but it is now falling to ruin.

This town is above an hundred miles from Edinburgh.

Elgin is the capital of the shire of Murray. It is watered by the little Lofs or Loffie.

Bamf.

Bamf. This town, which gives its name to a small shire, is situated at the mouth of the Doverne.

Aberdeen, in the shire of the same name.

The town of Aberdeen is built upon three rocks, at the mouth of the river Dee. Its harbour is a very good one.

Montrose, Dundee, and Forfar, in the shire of Angus.

Montrose is a small town, but its port is very good and convenient.

Dundee *, is a pretty considerable fortress, and has a very good harbour.

Forfar. This town is not preferable to either of the two last.

Perth, in the shire of the same name.

This town is one of the best in the North of Scotland †. It is provided with good fortifications, and the tide carries ships up to the town.

Bruntisland, or Kinghorn, in the shire of Fife.

Kinghorn is situated upon the firth of Forth, three leagues from Edinburgh.

Edinburgh, Leith, Linlithgow, and Dumbar, in the shires of Lothian.

* The Pretender embarked there in 1715.

† In 1745, the young Pretender kept possession of it for some time.

Edinburgh * is the capital of Scotland. Its castle has been thought impregnable. It is built upon the brow of an inaccessible rock, about a mile and an half from the sea.

Leith is properly the port of Edinburgh.

Linlithgow has a castle, and is but twelve miles from Edinburgh.

Dumbar lies near the sea.

Sterling, in the shire of that name.

Sterling has a good castle upon the top of a rock, on the declivity of which the town is built. The Forth washes the foot of the rock.

Glasgow †, in Clidesdale.

The port of Glasgow is one of the best in Scotland.

Ayr or *Air*, in the shire of the same name, situate at the mouth of the river of the same name, sixty miles from Edinburgh.

Kircudbright, in the shire of Galloway, at the mouth of the river Dee.

Dumfries in Niddesdale.

* In 1745, the Pretender's eldest son, at the head of the rebels, made himself master of Edinburgh, but could not take the castle, and was obliged to abandon the city, and to retire.

† The young Pretender took Glasgow in 1745, but was obliged to leave it in 1746.

Duns, in the Mers, situated pretty nearly in the middle of the shire.

Jedburgh, in Tiviotdale. This town is built upon the river Tive or Tife.

They told me likewise that they do not intend to erect any magazines in the North ; but that they shall draw continually from thence wherewithal to keep their magazines constantly full.

They have desired the K— of England, in order to calm the minds of the people with respect to their religion, not to promise any thing particular upon that head ; but to promise that he will be directed therein by his first parliament. They have given me several memorials concerning this matter, which are too long to be inserted here.

They hope the Prince will grant a general amnesty, without any exception ; and that he will promise to set at liberty all the vassals of such as shall oppose him, that those vassals may take arms for his service. The reason for asking this, is, that there are but four powerful Lords who have favoured the Union ; that they are hated by their vassals, and that these last, being delivered from their fears by this promise of liberty, will forsake their lords, and take up arms for their K— ; and by that means, not a person in Scotland will be able to oppose his progress. Upon this occasion they shewed me, by the list of the Peers, that, in order to get the Union passed, the Queen had created a great number of Peers who have not any thing in Scotland ; and that by this means, she had the majority of votes for her, notwithstanding all the opposition of the ancient peers, of the shires, and of the towns.

They

They have directed me to represent, that the French are as much loved in Scotland, as they are hated in England; that they retain a pleasing remembrance of their ancient alliances; that they still preserve several French idioms and turns of expression in their language, which are not used in England; that France is therefore always dear to them; and that they promise themselves the deliverance of their country, and the restoration of their K—, under his Majesty's protection.

THE

THE
MEMORIAL
OF THE
SCOTTISH LORDS,

Addressed to the

KING of FRANCE.

G

THE

MEMORIAL

OF THE

SCOTTISH LORDS

KING OF FRANCE

THE

T H E
M E M O R I A L
O F T H E
S C O T T I S H L O R D S, &c.

HIS Most Christian Majesty having been pleased to offer his protection to the kingdom of Scotland, in order to restore its lawful K—, and to secure to his nation its liberty, privileges, and independence; and his majesty having sent the honourable Colonel Hooke, (who, besides his past services, has now again given fresh and signal proofs of his capacity, zeal, and fidelity for the service of the most Christian King, and of his Britannic Majesty, to confer with the Peers and other Nobility of this nation, touching the measures that may be most conducive to so just and glorious an end.

We the underwritten Peers and Lords, having seen the full power given by his most Christian Majesty to the said Colonel, do, in our own names, and in the name of the greatest part of this nation, whose dispositions are well known unto us, accept the protection

G 2

tection and assistance of his most Christian Majesty with the utmost gratitude ; and we take the liberty most humbly to lay before his said majesty the following representation of the present state of this nation, and of the things we stand in need of.

The greatest part of Scotland has always been well-disposed for the service of its lawful K— ever since the revolution, as his most Christian Majesty has often been informed by some among us. But this good disposition is now become universal. The shires of the west, which used to be the most disaffected, are now very zealous for the service of their lawful K—. We have desired Colonel Hooke to inform his most Christian Majesty of the motives of this happy change.

To reap the benefit of so favourable a disposition, and of so happy a conjuncture, the presence of the K— our Sovereign will be absolutely necessary ; the people being unwilling to take arms, without being sure of having him at their head. We have desired Colonel Hooke to represent to his Majesty the reasons of this demand.

The whole nation will rise upon the arrival of its K— : He will become master of Scotland without any opposition, and the present government will be intirely abolished.

Out of this great number of men, we will draw 25000 foot, and 5000 horse and dragoons ; and with this army we will march strait into England : We, and the other Peers and Chiefs, will assemble all our men, each in his respective shire.

The

The general rendezvous of the troops on the north of the river Tay, shall be at Perth*: Those of the western Shires shall assemble at Stirling; and those of the south and east, at Dumfries†, and at Duns‡.

Those that shall be nearest the place where the K— of England shall land, shall repair to him.

We have computed the number of men which will be furnished by each of the shires that we are best acquainted with; and we have desired Colonel Hooke to inform his most Christian Majesty thereof.

For the subsistence of these troops, there will be found in our granaries the harvests of two years; so that a crown will purchase as much flour as will keep a man two months. There will be commissaries in each shire, to lay up the corn in the magazines, in such places as shall be thought most proper; and Commissaries-General who will take care to supply the army with provisions wherever it shall march.

The same commissaries will furnish it with meat, beer, and brandy, of which there is great plenty all over the kingdom.

* Perth, otherwise St. John's-Town, is upon the right-hand side of the Tay, or river of Edinburgh.

† Dumfries lies in the shire of Nidesdale, in the South of Scotland.

‡ Duns, is in the Mers, twelve miles from Berwick, in the South of Scotland.

There is woollen-cloth enough in the country to cloath a greater number of troops, and the Peers and other Lords will take care to furnish it.

There is great quantity of linen, shoes and bonnets, for the soldiers. They will be furnished in the same manner as the woollen-cloths. Of hats there are but few *.

The same Commissaries will furnish carriages for the provisions, the country abounding therein.

The inclinations of all these shires (excepting those of the west) for the K— of England have been so well known, and so public at all times since the Revolution, that the government has taken care to disarm them frequently ; so that we are in great want of arms and ammunition.

The Highlands are pretty well armed after their manner.

The shires of the west are pretty well armed.

The Peers and the Nobility have some arms.

There is no great plenty of belts and pouches, but there are materials enough to make them.

The few cannons, mortars, bombs, grenades, &c. that are in the kingdom, are in the hands of the government.

No great plenty will be found of hatchets, pick-axes, and other instruments for throwing

* The natives wear bonnets instead of hats.

up the earth: but there are materials for making them.

Commissaries will be appointed to furnish cattle for the conveyance of the provisions, artillery, and carriages; the country being plentifully provided therewith.

There are some experienced officers, but their number is not great.

With respect to money, the state of this nation is very deplorable. Besides that the English have employed all sorts of artifices to draw it out of the kingdom, the expedition of Darien has cost large sums: our merchants have exported a great deal: we have had five years of famine, during which we were obliged to send our money into England, and to Ireland, to purchase provisions; and the constant residence of our Peers and Nobility at London has drained us of all the rest. What our nation can contribute towards the war is therefore reduced to these two heads: the public revenue, which amounts to one hundred thousand five hundred pounds *sterling* a year; and what the Nobility will furnish in provisions, cloaths, &c. the quantities and proportions of which will be settled upon the arrival of the K— of England. Having thus set forth the state of the nation, we most humbly represent to his most Christian Majesty, as follows:

That it may please his most Christian Majesty to cause the K— our Sovereign to be accompanied by such a number of troops as shall be judged sufficient to secure his person against any sudden attempts
 G 4 of

of the troops now on foot in Scotland, being about two thousand men, which may be joined by three or four English regiments now quartered upon our frontiers.

It would be presumption in us to specify the number: but we most humbly represent to his Majesty, that the number ought to be regulated according to the place where the K— of England shall land. If his Majesty lands north of the river Tay, a small number will suffice for his security, because he will be joined in a few days by considerable numbers of his subjects: he will be covered by the river Tay and the firth of Forth, and all the shires behind him are faithful to his interests.

But if, on the contrary, his Majesty lands upon the south-west or south coast, he will want a large body of troops, on account of the proximity of the forces of the English, and of their regular troops. We believe that eight thousand * men will be sufficient.

But with respect to the number of the troops, we readily agree to whatever shall be settled between the two Kings; being persuaded that the tenderness of the most Christian King for the person of our Sovereign falls no way short of that of his faithful subjects.

We also beseech his Majesty to honour this nation with a General, to command in chief under our Sovereign of distinguished rank, that the first

* This demand of 8000 men was added merely to please the Duke of Hamilton. All the others had demanded but 5000.

men of *Scotland* may be obliged to obey him without difficulty; and to cause him to be accompanied by such General Officers as the two Kings shall judge proper.

The Peers and other Lords, with their friends, desire to command the troops they shall raise, in quality of Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Ensigns: but we want Majors, Lieutenants, and Serjeants to discipline them.

And if our enemies withdraw their troops from foreign countries, to employ them against us, we hope that his most Christian Majesty will send some of his over to our assistance.

The great scarcity of money in this country obliges us to beseech his most Christian Majesty to assist us with an hundred thousand pistoles*, to enable us to march strait into England. We stand also in need of a regular monthly subsidy during the war: but we submit, in that article, to whatever shall be agreed upon by the two Kings.

We likewise beseech his most Christian Majesty to send with the K— our Sovereign, arms for twenty five thousand foot and five thousand horse or dragoons, to arm our troops, and to be kept in reserve, together with powder and balls in proportion, and also some pieces of artillery, bombs, grenades, &c. with officers of artillery, engineers and cannoneers. We submit also in this to whatever shall be settled between the two Kings.

* This demand of an 100,000 pistoles was added to please the Duke of Hamilton.

We have desired Colonel Hooke to represent to his most Christian Majesty the time we judge most proper for this expedition, as also the several places of landing, and those for erecting magazines, with our reasons for each: and we most humbly beseech his Majesty to choose that which he shall like best.

And whereas several of this nation, and a great number of the English, have forgot their duty towards their Sovereign, we take the Liberty to acquaint his most Christian Majesty that we have represented to our K— what we think it is necessary his Majesty should do, to pacify the minds of his people, and to oblige the most obstinate to return to their duty, with respect to the security of the Protestant Religion, and other things which it will be necessary for him to grant to the Protestants. We most humbly thank his most Christian Majesty for the hopes he has given us by Colonel Hooke, of having our privileges restored in France, and of seeing our K— and this nation included in the future peace: and we beseech his Majesty to settle this affair with the K— our Sovereign.

We have fully informed Colonel Hooke of several other things, which we have desired him to represent to his most Christian Majesty.

And, in the pursuit of this great design, we are resolved mutually to bind ourselves by the strictest and most sacred ties, to assist one another in this common cause, to forget all family differences, and to concur sincerely, and with all our hearts, without jealousy or distrust, like men of honour, in so just and glorious an enterprise. In testimony whereof

(91)

whereof we have signed these presents, the seventh day of the month of May, of the year one thousand seven hundred and seven.

(Signed)

ERROL,
PANMURE,
STORMONT,
KINNAIRD,
JAMES OGILVIE,
N. MORAY,
N. KEITH,
DRUMMOND,
THO. FOTHERINGHAM,
ALEX. INNES.

LETTERS

whereof we have signed these presents, the seventh day of the month of May, of the year one thousand seven hundred and seven.

(Signed)

ERRICK,
PAMMUR,
STORMONT,
KINDRED,
JAMES OULIVIE,
W. MORAY,
N. KERR,
DUNMUNDO,
THO. FOTHERINGHAM,
ALEX. INNES.

LETTERS

LETTERS

OF THE

SCOTTISH LORDS

TO THE

K. of ENGLAND,

(The Chevalier de ST. GEORGE.)

In the YEAR 1707.

LETTERS
LETTERS

OF THE
SCOTTISH LORDS

SCOTTISH LORDS

TO THE

AND OF ENGLAND

(The Opinions of Sir George)

In the Year 1707

LETTERS

OF THE

SCOTTISH LORDS.

From Lord STORMONT.

SIR,

I Had the honour of seeing your Majesty's letter by Colonel Hooke. Your Majesty may be assured that we desire nothing so ardently as to see you at our head. We have drawn up a Memorial to be presented to his most Christian Majesty, in which we have given an exact account of the state of this nation, of what we are able to do, and of the assistance we stand in need of for the safety of your Majesty's person. Previous to the rising of the people, which will, doubtless, be very universal, we submit each article of our Memorial to be settled by your Majesty with the most Christian King; and we wait with extreme impatience the happy conclusion of the Treaty.

Colonel

Colonel Hooke has given upon this occasion great proofs of his capacity and zeal. He will give your Majesty an account of every thing, and will tell you the reasons why this Memorial has not been signed by a greater number.

We make no doubt but that your Majesty is firmly resolved to maintain and secure our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties, and our Independance. But as a great many of your subjects have forgot their duty, we believe that nothing will advance your Majesty's service more than your arrival in this country, and the declarations you will be pleased to publish with the advice of your friends, which will certainly quiet the minds of all, and facilitate your Majesty's happy restoration, whereby we shall be delivered from the tyranny, servitude, and oppression, we now groan under.

I most humbly beseech your Majesty to believe that I have the honour to be, with all possible zeal,

S I R,

Your Majesty's

Scoon, the 7th of

May, 1707.

Most humble, most faithful,
and most obedient servant
and subject,

(Signed) STORMONT.

The K. of England (the Chevalier de St. George) had not written to Lord Stormont since last Year. I had shewn him only one general letter for all the Prince's friends.

From

From the Marquis of DRUMMOND.

May it please your Majesty.

I Doubt not but that your Majesty finds that the diligence and prudence with which Colonel Hooke has acted for your service, have been attended with an happy success: and I am sure that if his most Christian Majesty does but please to approve of the proposals which we have made, nothing can hinder your Majesty's being restored to your just rights. It has seemed to me so just and so necessary that your Majesty should secure to a protestant people the establishment of their Religion, that I have thought myself obliged to sign; and I beseech your Majesty to believe, that as your service has been my only aim in what I have done, so I shall constantly act by the same rule; that I shall always be glad to venture my life and whatever is most dear to me for your service, and that I will endeavour to shew upon all occasions with how much zeal I am,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's

Most humble, most faithful,
and most obedient

Drummond,
the 8th of *May*, 1707.

subject and servant,

(Signed) DRUMMOND.

From the Earl of PANMURE.

May it please your Majesty.

PERMIT me to thank your Majesty for the honour of your letter last year, and to return your Majesty my most humble thanks for your favourable opinion of me. I will endeavour to deserve it as much as possibly I can; and I shall esteem it my greatest happiness, to find an opportunity to shew my zeal, and my fidelity towards your Majesty.

I have seen your Majesty's letters of credence in favour of the honourable Colonel Hooke, who well deserves the confidence your Majesty has in him. I have represented, jointly with several others, the state of the nation, in a Memorial, which we signed and delivered to the said Colonel. I therefore will not trouble your Majesty any farther, but only take the liberty to assure your Majesty that I am truly, as is my duty to be,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's

Most faithful, most humble,
and most obedient

Panmure, subject and servant,
the 12th of May, 1707.

(Signed)

PANMURE.

I had not any letter for the Earl of Panmure from the K. of England. That which the Earl speaks of was sent him last year.

From the Duke of GORDON.

SIR,

I Received with all possible respect the honour of your Majesty's letter, by Colonel Hoocke. I dare answer that he has done all that has been possible for your Majesty's service. He has shewn himself capable and faithful, and will give you an account of the dispositions of your Majesty's subjects in this nation; but your Majesty will give me leave to speak for myself and those belonging to me. We never have been wanting towards the sacred royal house of Stuart, and I hope we never shall. God commands us to reverence our monarchs. We are obliged by our birth, and by other engagements, to be faithful to the King, who is the Father of his country. But the passionate affection which I have for your Majesty's house and person, is inspired by gratitude, and is natural to me. Your faithful subjects cannot be unhappy, if your Majesty is happy: and the great Prince, who has taken such generous care of your person and affairs for nineteen years past, a generosity not to be matched in all antiquity; that great Prince, by his assistance and counsels, will, I trust, render your Majesty one of the greatest Kings that has ever been. The King, your Majesty's uncle, was one of the heroes of your house, and he was always a friend of the most Christian King, who, by his tenderness towards your Majesty, shews that the friendship of great Princes never is forgotten. I beseech your Majesty to believe, that the kindnesses and favours which I and my family have received from the greatest of your ancestors, and particularly from the Kings your uncle and your father, have made an

impression on me which will never be effaced.
That your Majesty may have the great merit and
perfect virtue of them both, is my constant prayer.
I am,

S I R,

Your Majesty's

Most obedient and most humble
servant and most faithful subject,

From the Castle of *Gordon*,
the 16th of *May*, 1707.

(Signed) GORDON.

*From the Earl of ERROL, Lord High Constable of
Scotland.*

May it please your Majesty.

THE satisfaction which I feel in receiving your
Majesty's orders, answers to my zeal, and hopes
of being one day useful in your service. I have left
nothing undone to restore your Majesty to the
throne of your ancestors; and though our design of
doing it by the parliament has not had the success
your faithful subjects wished for; yet the arrival of
Colonel Hooke, and his diligence in the execution
of his orders, have been so useful, that I hope, in
consequence thereof, to have the happiness of see-
ing your Majesty in this country; an happiness after
which we have so long sighed, to be delivered from
op-

oppression. Most of your Majesty's friends having left Edinburgh before the arrival of Colonel Hoocke, all that we could do was to act in concert, in signing the Memorial: and as the Memorial is not so ample as some of us could have wished, we have desired the said Colonel to supply what is wanting therein, by representing several things concerning which we have instructed him. He will also inform your Majesty, how much this nation is generally well affected to your service, and with how much pleasure we shall venture our lives and fortunes for so just a cause. No one will concur therein more heartily than I, who constantly pray for your Majesty's prosperity. I am,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's

Most faithful subject,

and most obedient,

and most humble servant,

Slains,

the 27th of May, 1707.

(Signed) ERROL.

From the Duke of HAMILTON.

Written in Cyphers.

S I R,

I Hope, that if I do not write oftner, your Majesty does not impute it to any want of zeal for your service. I hope that my services, when opportunity has offered, have given better proofs of my inclinations than I could have given any other way. Whilst I was in the country in England, I had no way, no means, to acknowledge the honour of your first: and when the Duke of Hamilton came into Scotland, he had no opportunity to write, except by the post. I shall therefore begin with acknowledging the receipt of yours of the fourth of March. Having, unhappily, been very ill for two months past, I have been deprived of the satisfaction of seeing Colonel Hooke. It was impossible for me to do it in my situation, both by reason of my illness, and on account of those that were about me. I return my most humble thanks for what your Majesty has had the goodness to say in yours of the 4th of March, concerning the Garter*.

As to the proposal made by Colonel Hooke, to give † five thousand men, I cannot approve of it.

* The K. of England had promised, in this letter, to give the Duke of Hamilton the Garter.

† Mr. Hall told the Duke of Hamilton that I had proposed to him the giving of five thousand men. He un-says this in his letter of the 23d of May, and owns that I had refused him five thousand men.

But

But in this I speak only my own private sentiment. I do not pretend to give the sentiments of others ; because, since the separation of the parliament, I have not had an opportunity of conversing with your Majesty's friends. But I am of opinion, that, notwithstanding all the desire of pleasing, the zeal, or the circumstances of some, may induce them to do, no thinking man will demand less than fifteen thousand men. Your Majesty's reputation depends upon it : for this affair cannot be attempted twice.

If Scotland alone was aimed at, I should not make this difficulty about it : but it is not worth while to come for Scotland only. England is the object. And though the Union has disposed the west of Scotland favourably for the King, yet that does not remedy the other inconveniencies, or the difficulties with respect to England : and it were to be wished that his most Christian Majesty would consider, that he will thereby secure his own affairs, as well as the King of Spain, at the same time that he is supporting your Majesty.

If you come, come strong : otherwise you will not make up an army : and this will not only encourage your enemies, but will also be the cause that those who shall have joined you, will forsake you.

Now that the King of Spain has gained a complete victory, it will be easy for the most Christian King to increase his succours in your Majesty's favour ; which will produce a good peace, or an happy war. But the present plan is not calculated to gain England : and without that it will not be worth your while to come.

It is impossible for me to give all my reasons in this manner of writing : but the Duke of Hamilton can say, that he has frequented the friends of the K. of England as much as another, and that he has not found their number very large. If you expect any thing from that quarter, you will do well to communicate it to some trusty persons here.

I own that the Whigs and Tories of England have proceeded to great extremities : but your Majesty is the best judge whether divisions can be of any service to you.

The Duke of Hamilton always flattered himself that Lord Godolphin meant well. Yet he was for the Union, more than can be thought. I know, however, that the Whigs in England have resolved his ruin : but perhaps he does not know it.

Lord Marlborough has been as zealous for the Union, as he, which will cause the ruin of the royal family, and particularly yours.

Excuse what I am going to say. I believe you never was sufficiently alarmed at this pernicious Union. Strange things have passed in this parliament ! Oh ! if you had come at that time !

The Duke of Hamilton had put off this Union, and the succession, for several years : but the late decisions have spoilt all.

It is no longer time to speak of things past : but if the Duke of Hamilton had had only twenty thousand pounds *sterling*, the Union would have been rejected.

He is often obliged to conceal what he does, as well from your friends, as from your enemies; as he now conceals from them his writing to you. They have no bad designs: but yet it is miraculous that some misfortune has not happened: for Colonel Hooke's being in this country is no secret. I shall be surpris'd if it does not come to the ears of the government.

I must do justice to Mr. Hall. You are much obliged to his diligence. I did desire Colonel Hooke to get something for him, but he has not yet done it. You should encourage faithful servants, especially when they are modest, like him.

I have tired you: but yet I have not said the hundredth part of what I had to say, or indeed of what is necessary. I shall end as I begun. Either come with a strong force, or wait the will of God. A weak attempt can never be repaired.

I hope your Majesty will excuse my presumption in offering my most humble respects to the Queen, and that she will look upon the Duke of Hamilton as one of those that are most affectionate to her, whilst he is the Duke of Hamilton.

May the 19th, 1707.

The whole of this letter was in cyphers, and it was neither signed nor directed.

EXTRACT

E X T R A C T
 O F T H E
 L E T T E R

From the Countess of ERROL to the Q. of England.

May 29th, 1707.

ALL the delays which we have suffered have not diminished our zeal, though they have prolonged our miseries and misfortunes.

Colonel Hooke has been so well received among us, that he is able to give an exact account of his negotiations, which will not displease your Majesty.

I confess that, after having waited for him a long while, our fervor began to diminish, in proportion to our hopes. But his prudence and good conduct, joined to his indefatigable diligence, has revived our ardor; and he has put our affairs into so good order, that we hope they will come to an happy issue. The present opportunity is looked upon by all as the best that has ever offered, and the last that will offer for a long time.

All ranks of people earnestly demand their King, and the Scots will certainly return universally and unanimously to their duty towards their lawful Sovereign.

Though

Though the relations of Mr. Murray are very considerable, and able to do much for your Majesty's service; yet he has not thought proper to promote it in the country, on account of the situation he is in with respect to the government: besides, Colonel Hoocke's activity has been such, that he has not stood in need of assistance. However, Mr. Murray has always been ready to do every thing in his power, and has followed exactly the advice of the said Colonel.

EXTRACT

Although the relations of Mr. Murray are very
characteristic, and able to be traced for years Mr.
Murray has not been able to do much for your Ma-
jesty's service; but he has not thought proper to
quit the country on account of the illness
of his wife in which respect to the Government: be-
cause, Colonel Flocke's activity has been such, that
he has not found in need of assistance. However,
Mr. Murray has always been ready to do every
thing in his power, and has followed exactly the
orders of the late Colonel.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT

OF THE

LETTERS

FROM

SCOTLAND,

TO

M. DE CHAMILLART,

Minister and Secretary of State.

EXTRACT

OF THE

LETTERS

FROM

SCOTLAND,

TO

M. DE CHAMILLART,

Ministre des Affaires de Guerre.

E X T R A C T
O F T H E
L E T T E R S, &c.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. HALL, written by order
of the Duke of HAMILTON.*

August 2, 1707.

TH E Duke of Hamilton will not go to England till he shall have seen the King's determination with respect to the affairs of Scotland; and it is hoped here, that Sir James Ogilvie of Boyn will bring it soon.

The Duke of Hamilton has informed himself more fully concerning the dispositions of the west; and this is what he orders me to tell you.

All the Presbyterians are resolved to oppose the Union; and if the K—— of England comes to Scotland with six or eight thousand men, he will have more people for him than he will know how to employ. It will be necessary that he give the
com-

command of them to the Peers and Nobility, and the Duke of Hamilton will set others the example. We have arms in these parts, and some shires have already officers upon half-pay.

All that the Presbyterians demand of the K— of England is, to declare against the Union, and to maintain the parliament, and the independance of the nation. They submit to military discipline, and will not disturb his Majesty on account of his religion; only desiring that he will be content to exercise it without much shew. They conjure him only to promise the safety of the protestant religion in general, and to refer all the rest to his first parliament. All the Tories are zealous for his interests, but it will be necessary that he come soon, otherwise the opportunity will be lost.

Extract of a letter from the Duke of GORDON.

August the 9th, 1707.

WE are in great consternation here at not hearing from you, and are therefore obliged to be urgent to know what we may hope for. Secrecy is necessary in great affairs; but too much mystery ruins all. May we know at least, whether we shall be assisted, or not? The Duke of Hamilton begins to espouse our interests heartily. There are people here who insinuate that you do not intend to assist us. If you do intend it, the opportunity is favourable, and never will be found again.

Extract

E X T R A C T
O F A
L E T T E R

From the Laird of KERSLAND, Chief of the Presbyterians in the five shires of the South-west.

August the 16th and 20th, 1707.

ALL is ready here; but if the succours do not come soon, or at least if we are not sure of being assisted within a limited time, all will go to confusion. The people complain, that they have been often made to hope, without any effect. I will still answer for keeping every thing ready some time longer, provided I am sure of the succours; but it would not be just that I should lose my fortune for my good will. Long delays will ruin us all.

We are all convinced, that the only way to save Scotland is to restore our K—. The opportunity is excellent; it never was so good; and if you lose it, it never will be found again.

The Union is so universally detested, that it has changed the hearts of the greatest enemies of the K— of England. I should not wonder if this change should not be easily believed in France; for I am surprized at it myself, and yet it is true.

The attachment which the Chiefs of the Cameronians have always had for my Family, enables me to answer for them ; and I will readily venture myself on this occasion, provided I am sure of not being forsaken : for the English will not spare me.

Do not give credit to all the intelligence that may be sent from these shires by any other channel than mine ; for I am informed that others make use of my name, without my knowledge. We are ready to give every security that shall be desired, for the performance of our promises. Once more, do not lose time ; for if you do, you lose every thing.

EXTRACT

E X T R A C T
O F A
L E T T E R

From the Duchess of GORDON.

August the 20th and 23d, 1707.

FOR God's sake! What are you thinking of?
Is it possible, that after having ventured all to
shew our zeal, we have neither assistance nor an-
swer.

All is lost for want of knowing what measures
ought to be taken. Several of the greatest parti-
sans of the Union acknowledge their error and come
over to us. If we are left in the uncertainty we are
now in, the people will grow cool. The Chieftains
will fear for themselves when they find they are des-
pised, and will make their peace, not to have an
halter always about their necks. Give me but a
positive promise, and all will go well. The Chief-
tains will then find no difficulty in keeping every
thing ready against the arrival of the succours;
but our hearts are sunk by this continual uncer-
tainty.

Come when you please, and to what port you please, you will be well received; but if you do not come soon, or if you do not send us speedily an assurance of assistance, the party will be broken, and it will be too late.

A T R A N S.

A
TRANSLATION
OF THE
MEMORIAL

Presented to the

Q. of ENGLAND,

(The Wife of the Chevalier de St. GEORGE)

By Father AMBROSE OCONOR,

Provincial of the Irish Dominicans.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE FIRST

MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND

MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE THIRD

MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE FOURTH

MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE FIFTH

MEMOIRS

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

A
TRANSLATION
OF THE
MEMORIAL, &c.

WHEN I went over to Ireland, the king my master ordered me to inform myself exactly of the state of affairs in that kingdom, I have acquitted myself of that commission to the utmost of my power as your majesty will see by what follows.

Having received orders to sail from Brest, notwithstanding the bad success of the Scottish expedition, I arrived at Ireland on the 7th of May of the present year 1708. Having learned the instant I landed, that all the Lords, Clergy, and Gentlemen of the kingdom had been seized, and all their horses carried off, I gave intelligence of that to Lord Clanrickard by the same frigate that brought me to the island. The same day I advanced into the country as far as I could to have some conversation with the persons to whom I was directed by my instructions to address myself. I forbear to mention the danger I run, of being seized by the enemies of the

K—, who having discovered that I had landed from a French frigate, pursued me on all sides. After the alarm had continued a few days, believing myself out of danger, I proceeded to visit the principal persons of the province of Connaught, who are my Lords Clanrickard, D—, B—, R—, Sir Unick Bourk, and Colonel Grene Macdonogh. The Lords Clan— and B—, being sick a bed, I could not see them. I spoke to Lord R—, who assured me, that nobody was more attached than he to the interest of the K—. I went from thence to see Lord D—, and I learned that both he and Colonel Macdonoch were under arrest at Dublin.

From the Province of Connaught, I crossed the Province of Leinster, in my way to Dublin, when I saw Lord Limerick, who is one of the chief men of that country. At Dublin, I found Lords F—, D—, and F—, and Colonel Macdonogh. After having discoursed with them on the subject of my journey, they told me that the king my master needed not make the least doubt of their fidelity; that they desired nothing so earnestly as his restoration, and the being put in a way of contributing thereto; but that he could not be ignorant that they wanted arms and other necessary things, with a number of troops proper for that purpose. I have not discovered my commission to any others but them, although there are here a great number of persons of rank and credit who are very faithful to the K—; because Lord Limerick and Lord F— gave me to understand that it was not proper to speak to them of it, as the descent on Scotland had failed: But at the same time they assured me, that if the K— could send but a small number of troops, with arms and ammunition, there would

would not be wanting a sufficient number of men to support his party, there being then a much greater number of youth proper for bearing arms than there had been for many years past; and that all the true Irish throughout the whole kingdom were ready to hazard their lives to serve the K—.

I endeavoured to discover the disposition of the people of the north of Ireland, which is called Scotland, of the province of Ulster or *Ultonia*, and I learned from persons of distinction and credit, that they are generally well-affected to the party of the K——; that when they knew his majesty was gone to Scotland, they assembled secretly in several places apart, to wish him good success. I know this for certain from Lord F——, who went thither in the month of June last with Lord Antrim; and I have been assured of the same thing by other persons of distinction, namely, the Bishop of Downe and Colonel Conanville, who have great authority in the Province of Ulster, and may be depended upon when occasion requires. They are relations or friends to several antient and loyal families in that north country, on which account I opened myself more particularly to those two persons.

As to Lord G—— I was informed, that he was as faithful to the K—— as any other person in Ireland; but Lord Limerick advised me not to go where he was, for fear of raising suspicions both against him and myself, as the place where he lives is surrounded with Protestants and Presbyterians who visit that Lord. Lord Limerick promised to deliver to him, with the first opportunity the instructions which the K—— charged me with for him.

It may be observed that all the Lords and other gentlemen with whom I have spoken, expressed their surprize that his majesty never sent some person whom he could trust to inform them of his design upon Scotland, by which intelligence they could have prevented the imprisonments, and secured their horses. They therefore most humbly beg his majesty, in case of any new attempt upon Scotland, that they might be informed of it by some faithful and discreet person, that they might be upon their guard, and in a condition to perform all the services in their power.

I have employed a gentleman of merit, faithful, and zealous, named Denis M'Menars, who knows all the nobility, and the state of every thing in the counties of Clare, Galloway, Kerry, Mayo, and Corke; he has given me a list of all those who may be depended upon; and he has assured me, that in five counties only, the K— could raise, in a short time 20,000 men, provided he furnished them with arms, the counties being in the number of those in which there is the greatest number of Roman Catholics. The counties of Roscommon, Sligo, and Leitrim are of the number, full of well-affected Catholics.

I was, besides, careful to inform myself of the means for surprizing the city of Galway. A gentleman of the family of the Brorunes, who lives in that county, and who formerly served in the army, has assured me, that with 500 well-disciplined men, he would undertake to make himself master of that place, as he knows it perfectly, both within, and without. There is generally only a single battalion in garrison there; and upon the expedition to Scotland they put two weak battalions into the place.

Ac-

According to the opinion of those who are best acquainted with the kingdom and its situation, the most proper places for a descent, and where it could be made with the greatest security, are the counties of Clare and Galloway, and with a few troops that might be transported thither, the province of Connaught might be easily reduced in a few days; it being certain, that in the cities Galloway, Athlone, and Antrim, which are the strongest in the province, there is not at present more than 600 men in garrison, and the Catholics, as is above remarked, being very numerous there, a considerable army of them might in a short time be raised.

The troops at present on foot in Ireland are only ten regiments or battalions of foot, three regiments of horse, and three of dragoons, and as they are not compleat, they do not make altogether more than 6000 men. Commissions have lately been given out for four regiments of foot, of which Lord G—— is to raise one. This is the short account which I am able to give of the present situation of affairs in Ireland. I insinuated to the principal nobility, that they ought to send to the K—— a trusty person to assure his Majesty of their heartiness in his cause, and of all that is abovementioned; but it seemed to me, that they durst not hazard a deputation in so dangerous a juncture, every place being full of spies to ensnare the faithful subjects, so that even their own shadow affrights them. They therefore thought that it would be more proper, that I myself should return to France to inform his Majesty of every thing; and I thought myself obliged in honour and conscience to undertake the journey, though it should even cost me my life.

I left

I left Dublin the 11th of August last. At London I saw twenty-three Lords; the Lord Marshal of Scotland, and Lord Drummond. Lord F——, who had lately come to England with his Lady, and whom, as I have mentioned, I saw in Ireland, procured me an interview with two Lords in the Tower of London, where they were prisoners, when I came away. These Lords knowing I was going to France, instantly charged me to tell your Majesty and the K— from them, that they, and generally all the Scottish nation, are faithful, and attached to the interest of the K— their lawful Sovereign; and that they expected his Majesty would make a second attempt, the sooner the better for his Majesty, as a delay would only diminish the number of those who wished his coming; but that his Majesty ought to bring with him, if possible, 10,000 men, and to send before a considerable sum of money, to be put into the hands of some Scottish Lord of known loyalty and great reputation, to be distributed among the Lords and Gentlemen of that nation, who can best employ it for the interest and service of the K—. That some troops at the same time must be sent to Ireland, to the number of 5000 men, if possible, with ammunition and arms for 10,000 more; and also, that other 10,000 men must be ready to land on the coasts of England next to Scotland. Ireland at present abounds with all sorts of provisions, so that in whatever part of that kingdom the descent be made, there will be no difficulty to subsist a great army. The city of Gallo-way has a good harbour and a fine bay, where a large fleet may ride in safety; and in the city are large magazines of French, Spanish, and Portugal wines, of aqua vitæ, salt, and other commodities, with which that city furnishes the province of Connaught; and the adjacent counties of Clare, Roscommon,

common, Mayo, Sligo, and Leitrim, would furnish oxen and sheep in abundance. In England likewise, provisions would be furnished plentifully, and very cheap, for the subsistence of an army ; and as there are no fortified places in the interior part of the kingdom, large contributions may be raised in the very heart of the country : besides, the English being loaded with taxes, would joyfully embrace the first opportunity of being delivered from them.

On the first rumour in England of the K—'s embarking for Scotland, there was a general run upon the Bank ; and I have been informed by persons of rank, that if his M——y had landed in Scotland, the government would instantly have found itself without credit and without money. That enterprize has produced at least this good effect, that the lower class of people, who were kept in ignorance, and were made believe that there was no such thing as a Prince, who had just pretensions to the Crown, now know that there is a King, who watches all opportunities of re ascending the throne of his ancestors.

The division between the Episcopal and Presbyterians here is greater than ever. The latter are for the Prince of Hanover ; but the greater part of the Episcopal are for the K—, out of opposition to their antagonists, who are at present the ruling party, by their junction with Godolphin and Marlborough, and the other members of the privy council attached to them ; and persons of rank have told me, that they believed, if the K— had set foot on Scotland, his M——y would have drawn great advantages from this division.

When

When the K—'s design upon Scotland was known in Ireland, the Protestants in that country, who are also divided, were struck with great consternation. Those who have been settled since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, believe their possessions secure, and that they have a kind of prescription in their favour; whereas those who are enriched with the confiscated estates of those faithful subjects, who followed their K— to France, are afraid of being stripped of them. They are therefore more attached to the present government than the others, who, being as it were, naturalized, look upon the new comers with jealousy, so that there is no mutual confidence among them.

A Memorial of the things necessary for my journey to Scotland.*

MONSEIGNEUR de Chamillart will be pleased to remember, that I have had the honour to represent to him, that to put the Scots in motion, it will be necessary, in the first place, to carry them arms, ammunition, and a sum of money. As to arms, the greater number that can be sent, it will be so much the better, as it may be depended upon, that they cannot be better employed for the service of the K— in the present juncture, than by putting so warlike a nation in action against the English, whom they regard as their enemies as well as the French.

I have represented, that it would be necessary to send thither 10,000 muskets at least, and as many

* This is by Mr. Hoocke.

bayonets,

bayonets, with pistols, saddles, and other accoutrements, for arming between 2 and 3000 horse. *.

As this number cannot be ready by the time of my departure, there must at least be sent with me arms sufficient for 4000 foot and 1000 horse, with a power to assure them, that more arms shall be sent over as soon as they shall take the field. As to ammunition, as they have at present a greater need of that than of arms, it is necessary to send them at least 20,000 pounds of gunpowder, with balls, in proportion to the arms. Six cannons, two of them of 24 pound ball, with their carriages, will also be necessary, and 2 mortars with bombs, and a train, and powder necessary for that artillery.

As the Scots are in great want of these supplies, if they are not ready, it would be better to defer the departure till they should be all prepared, as the Scots cannot begin to act vigorously sooner than the month of April. As to money, it is not proposed to give them a great sum, till they are actually in the field; but it is absolutely necessary to carry them some, to be distributed among the leading men in the counties, to enable them to take the field, and to lead their vassals against England. The Q— of England is so convinced of the advantage and good success of the expedition, that however great her wants may be, from this moment she offers to contribute 40,000 livres to make a part of the sum of 100,000 livres, which she believes absolutely necessary, and

* Monsieur de Chamillart gives order for furnishing 3000 muskets, 1000 pair of pistols, 20,000 pound weight of powder, 2 pieces of cannon of 24 pound ball, and 4 of 8 pound, with 1000 balls for each, 2 eight inch mortars, 600 bombs, and a train in proportion..

sufficient

sufficient to make the Scots take arms. As to the distribution of this money, I shall follow exactly the orders that shall be given me, and according to them, I shall give the account of the disposal that I shall make of it; and of this I cannot give a better proof than the conduct which I observed in my last voyage, when I brought back the money, which I had an authority to distribute there, when I understood that it was not then a proper time to part with it.

The four Scottish gentlemen, whom I have chosen to go thither with me, to be employed in the different services for which they are proper, are *,

Mr. Murray, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Lee, who has already made a voyage to Scotland for the service of the K—, in which he conducted himself very prudently, and acquired the esteem and confidence of the principal Lords, many of whom are his near relations, he being of one of the best families of the kingdom: the hon. Mr. Fleming, whom the same Lords have sent thither to assure the K— of their zeal. The Q— of England desires that he might go with me. Mr. Semple, a man of quality, and an old officer, who has served the K— a long time, and who is particularly known and esteemed by the said Scottish Lords. Mr. Sinclair, a Scottish officer, of the regiment of Sparre, a brave man, very zealous, and who may be of great service. Monseigneur de Chamillart will be so good as to settle the subsistence of these four gentlemen.

* Monsieur de Chamillart gives orders to pay the officers the expences of their journey to Dunkirk, and six months of their appointments upon their embarking to each, according to his character, upon the same footing with Mr. Murray.

The most proper and probable expedient to conceal the true design of this voyage, would be to pretend an expedition to North America against some of the English colonies, because in going thither from Dunkirk, one must sail by the north of Scotland, which is the course I must hold. Thus when the arms are embarking, the people must be made believe, that there is an intention of sending arms to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, to reduce the forts which the English have in Newfoundland, by which they protect their cod-fishery, and afterwards of attacking New England, in concert with the French colonies. It will be necessary, therefore, that I be charged with a sham commission of commander in chief in an expedition along those coasts, and that the four officers have also false commissions for the same country, that we may be treated as prisoners of war, in case (contrary to all appearance) we should be taken at sea. And it will be necessary that the commanders of the vessels should believe that they are really going to the coasts of America, to secure the secrecy of the enterprize, till the K—'s orders, with which I shall be charged, be opened at sea. I mention nothing here of my particular interests, being persuaded that his Majesty having done me the honour to trust to me so considerable an enterprize, will furnish me with the means, and a character necessary to procure me authority with that nation, to which he sends me with ample instructions to regulate my conduct. As to the time of my departure, when the things necessary for the expedition are prepared, I shall be always ready.

*A Letter of Monsieur de Chamillart to the Count
d'Estrades.*

Verfailles, 1708.

YOU will find here annexed a list of several general and subaltern officers, who have orders to repair to St. Omers the 7th of this month, the King sending to Dunkirk those orders that they are to execute. His Majesty desires that you would give them all notice to repair thither the 8th of this month in the evening, or in the morning of the 9th, and there inform them of their destination.

A list of general officers, brigadiers, and others, whom the King orders to repair to Dunkirk the 8th of this month, to execute the orders of the K— of England and the Count de Gassé.

Lieutenant Generals.

The Marquis de Viltray,
D'Orington,
De Galmoy,
Levy.

Quarter-master generals.
De Ruffey,
De Fitzgerald.

Brigadiers.

De Montandre,
De St. Pierre,
De Mosny,
De Hooke.
De Fretteville, major-general.
Braudrezel, intendant.

Colonels.

Montandre,
Mony,
De Meuse,
Crecy,

Danfreville,
Baufermé.

Gaydon, a colonel on half pay, in the retinue of Nugent.

Engineers.

Salmon, engineer Br.
400 l. 12 s.

Macshihie, 150 4

A commissary of artillery.

A guard for the magazine of artillery.

TH E troops which are to embark with the K— of England. All the regiments are to remain where they are, till they receive further orders.

Namely,

Bearn, at Dunkirk.

Auxerrois, at Bergue.

Aginois, at Calais.

Luxembourg, at Aire.

Beaufermé, at St. Omer.

Boulonois, at Lille.

Only the Irish officers who were at Hesdin, the detachments of separate corps, and the brigades of Irish reduced officers of Arras, cannot be countermanded directly ; but they are to be stopped at Aire and St. Omer.

*A Letter of M. de Chamillart to M. de St. Pierre,
1708.*

TH E King appointing you to serve in an expedition which his Majesty proposes to make in the quarter where you serve, he orders me to acquaint you, that his intention is, that you repair, the 8th of this month in the evening, to Dunkirk, there to execute the orders which shall be explained to you from him.

A Memorial concerning the affair proposed in Scotland.

TO transport the K— of England secretly into Scotland with troops, it will be necessary, 1. To arm, for transporting them, twenty five or thirty frigates, from 20 to 50 guns, or thereabouts, under such pretences, as shall prevent the enemy from guessing the true design. 2. To send them out at a season when there shall be least to fear from the winds and from the enemy. 3. To contrive to put a sufficient quantity of provisions on board each

frigate, without giving room to suspect that there is any intention of embarking troops. 4. That the troops be embarked with as little noise as possible. 5. That the journey of the K— of England be neither divulged before, nor at the time of his departure from St. Germain, nor some days after.

In obedience to the orders of the King, I will simply relate what the leading men among the Scots have often told me, on all these articles, and shall add but a very little of my own. There is but one seaman who can form a well-digested plan for this expedition.

1. In the single port of Dunkirk more frigates are to be found than would be needed : and there never will be wanting pretexts for arming them. The squadron of the Count de Forbin may be armed as usual. One or two armaments may be made for cruising, under the direction of the intendant, as has been practised for these years past. Private persons may also be encouraged underhand, to arm some frigates for cruising, which may be seized on and employed, when all things shall be got ready ; and his Majesty will afterwards reimburse them the expences they have been at. If the King think proper to arm two of the vessels in other ports, and send them to Dunkirk, that would still more facilitate the armament ; and these two vessels being larger, and capable of receiving more troops, would render a less number of privateers sufficient. It may be also remarked, that the enemy would never suspect an embarkation of troops, when they did not see any transport vessels assembled.

2. The enemy cannot keep a squadron before Dunkirk from the month of November till April.
The

The south-east and south-west winds, which are most favourable for the expedition, prevail during the months of January and February, when these seas are pleasant enough, the tempestuous months being November, December, and March. But in order to pass over in the month of February, it would be necessary, that the orders were given to be ready in the end of December or the beginning of January, on account of the ordinary and inevitable delays that will retard the armament.

3. The ordinary provisions of the frigates will be sufficient for the troops that are to be embarked over and above. Two or three months provisions are usually taken on board at once for the whole crew of a privateer, which is always double of an ordinary crew. At the moment of embarking, the third or even the half of the crews may be retrenched, which will afford much more provisions than will be wanted by the troops. For example, a frigate having a crew of 120 men, is equipped for two months; by deducting 40 men, who make a third of the crew, there will be provisions for three months for the fourscore men that remain. If 240 men are put on board the same frigate, they will make with the crew 320 men, who will have provisions for twenty-two days and a half. There will be a third of provisions more if they are put in for three months; and if one half of the crew be deducted, there will be still more. Now from Dunkirk to Edinburgh is only a passage of two or three days with a favourable wind, and of six or seven days even with a cross wind; so that there will be provisions enough for them for extraordinary accidents or for their return. And if contrary winds should detain the frigates in Scotland a few days, they might be easily furnished with every thing necessary,

cessary, which is to be found in the country in the greatest abundance.

4. The time proposed for the expedition extremely facilitates the embarkation of the troops, as his Majesty may put the troops, destined for that expedition, into winter-quarters, even in Dunkirk, where they may remain to the time of the embarkation, as a part of the garrison of that place. They may be embarked in Dunkirk road in the space of twenty-four hours, by means of the flat-bottomed boats, and those of the fishermen and the shalloops, which are there always to be found. And it will not be necessary to communicate the design to the officers of the troops before the time of the embarkation, because they will always have in the garrison their camp-bed, clothes, and linen, and will have occasion for no other baggage. As to the money necessary for the officers, it may be put into the hands of the treasurer, to be delivered in Scotland. His Majesty may easily replace the garrison of Dunkirk, by troops drawn from the neighbouring garrisons of Calais, Gravelines, St. Omer, &c. who, on that account, may be somewhat strong in the beginning of winter.

5. His Majesty needs not advertise the K— of England of the time or manner in which he intends to send him over. It will be sufficient to tell that Prince at the time when the design is to be executed. The general, whom his Majesty shall entrust with the command of the troops, may cause to be provided as for himself, all that shall be necessary for the K— of England, who may leave St. Germain with a small retinue, as for a journey into the country, for which it will be easy to invent probable pretences. That Prince will find all that he will
need

need on his arrival; he may disguise himself on the road, and should not be known till after he has left Dunkirk *. I speak nothing of the arms and ammunition, as they may, without any difficulty, be secretly embarked, by distributing them on board several frigates. At Bruntisland, opposite to Edinburgh, at Inverkithing, and at Blackness, higher up the river, the frigates will be in full security, both against the winds and the enemy. England is quite open, and destitute of troops, so that the Scots will find no opposition in entering it, nor even in advancing southwards. In case of misfortune, the Scots may lay waste the country on the south side of the Firth of Edinburgh, and retire to the north side of that river, where they will have provisions in abundance, and so oblige the English to return for want of subsistence. This conduct has always succeeded with them these 400 years past. It was the council which their King Robert I. gave them on his death-bed, and which they have since always practised with success in the issue. Cromwel, after having entirely exhausted his troops at Dunbar, and not being longer able to subsist his army, nor force the passage of the river, was obliged to grant the Scots all the conditions which they demanded of him, to put an end to the war. Thus his Majesty's troops will always be safe, whether they succeed against England, or whether they are obliged to retire. This retreat even will be of no small service to the King, because the English will be obliged to keep the same number of troops to watch the Scots,

* The K— of England may pretend a journey to Anet to see the Duke of Vendome his relation, and to go from thence to la Trappe, as the K— his father did. After he has gone a few leagues from Anet, he should take off the ribband of his order, and perform the rest of the journey under a feigned name, as a young gentleman.

which will prevent them from being able to send them to Flanders. But in the present state of affairs, there is not the least appearance that the Scots would be forced to retreat.

A list of officers of the troops embarked for Scotland, who are arrived since the embarkation, and of the number of recruits arrived for the troops.

The regiment of Beau-
farmé.

Capt. Vallot,
Lieut. Grossieux,
—— la Boessiere,
—— Dufour,
Serrier, sub-lieutenant,
1 serjeant,
23 private men.

The regiment of Bearn.

Capt. Cheval. Beaufort,
—— Radeau,
—— la Girardiere,
Leut. la Girardiere,
Du Hamel, sub-lieut.
Du Mesnil, sub-lieut.
3 private men.

The regiment of Aux-
errois.

Capt. Segnoi,
Gromeau, ensign,
Rebourg, lieut.
Courtenay, sub-lieut.
Vernier, sub-lieut.
3 serjeants,

25 private men.

The regiment of Age-
nois.

Lieut. Arnault,
Capt. de Fleury,
1 serjeant,
5 private men.

The regiment of Bou-
lonois.

Major de Carriere,
Capt. Dufay,
—— Magnol,
—— de Surlay,
Lieut. de Pierre,
3 serjeants,
6 private men.

The regiment of Irish
Galmois.

Lieut. M'carty,
—— Oleary,
—— Rouck,
—— Megan.

The regiment of Lee.
Capt. Magenis.

*A letter of M. de BERNIERES to M. * * *.*

Dunkirk, March 29, in the morning, 1708.

S I R,

I Did not expect last night to have such sad news to tell you ; but I have this moment spoke with the commander of the second battalion of the regiment of Boulonois, who has arrived in one of the vessels belonging to the squadron, called the Zephir's Prize, on board of which were nine companies of the said regiment of Boulonois. He says, that when they were just about to enter the Firth of Edinburgh on Saturday, they discovered the enemy's fleet, in which he pretends to have counted at least sixty sail, several of which were ships of 70 and 80 guns ; that M. de Forbin seeing that he could not prevent their coming up with him, steered northwards ; that a little before night, one of the enemy's head-most vessels entered into the middle of the squadron, and began to fire guns, and to throw rockets, to give signal to the rest of the fleet ; and, to conclude, that the Zephir's Prize, being a bad sailing ship, and falling much behind, the sea-officers judged it proper to return to Dunkirk, as the wind was favourable for them ; and the said commander believes that all the King's squadron is dispersed, which is even to be desired, under the apprehension that a worse evil has happened to them.

A letter

*A letter of M. de BERNIERES to M. * * *.*

Dunkirk, March 30, 1708.

S I R,

S I N C E the news that I had the honour to write to you yesterday morning by a courier of M. de Pontchartrain, on the arrival of one of the vessels of the King's squadron, on board of which were 9 companies of the 2d battalion of Boulonois, there has not been any other news of any kind. But I have interrogated the pilots of that vessel, from whom I have learned more circumstances than I knew of the affair when I wrote to you.

First, Sir, the winds, which to us here appeared favourable for their speedy landing, kept always shifting, and prevented their advancing; there even happened a calm, during which, they did not make the least way. At length, when they approached the coast of Scotland, there arose a fresh and hard gale, which obliged them to stand out to sea, so that it was Friday evening on the 23d, before they reached the Frith of Edinburgh, when they anchored at the mouth of it. Unfortunately at day-break it was ebbing tide, so that there was a necessity of waiting till noon to enter the river with the flowing sea. At six in the morning of the 24th, M. de Forbin made a signal for all the shalloops of his squadron, and at that moment they perceived the enemy's fleet, which, since it had been seen on Tuesday the 20th at sunset off the banks of Dunkirk, had, as the sailors pretend, steered along the coasts of England, where it had met with favourable winds, by means of which it had reached the river of Edinburgh, ten or eleven hours after ours.

The

The inequality of forces being considered, Mr. Forbin pursued the only course he had to take, which was to put to sea with a pressing sail towards the north of Scotland, and to escape from the enemy during the night. Meanwhile, about three in the afternoon, four of the enemies best sailing vessels came up with us, one of them of 70 guns, which attacked the *Driade* or the *Griffon*, but they are not certain which of the two. The match was not equal, and although the ship defended herself very well, she would have been taken, if M. de Tourovere, commander of the *Auguste*, had not come to her assistance. He not only disengaged the King's vessel, but poured in a broadside into the English ship to such a good purpose, and so very near, that he obliged her to retire in all appearance not a little damaged. Night in the meantime drawing on, the four English vessels thought proper not to engage further, but waited for the coming up of the rest of their squadron, which was about a league or two behind. During the night our vessel, which is returned, saw all their fire, and perceived at sunset M. de Forbin, who continued his course with full sail towards the north, and all the vessels following him, this excepted, which could not follow. From all these circumstances, Sir, we may conclude, that the design upon Scotland has failed, that the enemy have taken nothing from us, and that the squadron either united or separately will return to Brest, by going round Scotland and Ireland, if some of the light vessels, commanded by our Flemish captains, who are perfectly acquainted with these seas, do not even directly return hither, if they should happen to be separated, or not be able to follow M. Forbin in the night, as he carried no lights, lest he should be followed by the enemy. As every one judges according to his fancy, some ima-

imagine the English fleet, believing the storm blown over, will steer directly for the Frith of Edinburgh, where it was but too well known the descent was to have been made, and that M. Forbin not being followed, may, without disturbance, land the King of England and his troops at Cromarty, which is a port in the north of Scotland. Of these conjectures none is a better judge than yourself.

*A letter from M. de BERNIERES to Mr. ***.*

Dunkirk, March 31, 1708.

S I R,

THE Proteus, a king's ship, which was one of the squadron destined for Scotland, arrived in the road to-day about noon, and ten companies of the regiment of Luxembourg, who were on board with some Irish officers, M. le Camus, Provincial Commissary of Artillery, and the Lieut. Colonel of the regiment of Agenois, were immediately disembarked. This vessel, which is one of the best in this port, was not equipped for fighting, as I had the honour to mention to you, having only a few sailors, and far from having all her guns, because she had been fitted for a transport-ship, that she might carry the more men and provisions. After the squadron had been obliged, by the bad weather, to anchor in the road of Newport, she having lost some of her anchors put in here to supply herself with others, and to get a reinforcement to her crew. This vessel then left the road of Dunkirk on Tuesday the 20th at noon, the squadron having sailed from that of Newport the evening before at eleven at night. The Proteus arrived at the Frith of Edinburgh, on Friday the 23d, at two in the afternoon, expecting there to find the squadron. She
pro-

proceeded about two leagues up the river, when several pilots and a gentleman came on board to shew them the course they must steer. There is actually on board the vessel three Scotch pilots who came hither on board her. The land officers with whom I have spoke have all told me, that all Scotland has expected the K— of England these three months with the utmost impatience, and that he would be received there with the utmost demonstrations of joy; that even Lord Abel, who they say is the Duke of Hamilton, had 6000 men assembled whom he had reviewed; that at the first signal all the river would be covered with fishing-vessels, and others that would readily give their assistance in forwarding the disembarkation; and to conclude, it was reckoned in Scotland, that the squadron which brought the K— of England, consisted of twenty or thirty men of war, and as many transports.

In the evening M. de Forbin appeared with the squadron at the mouth of the Frith, where he anchored, as I have had the honour to mention to you; and on the morrow, at day-break, the enemy also appeared but 28 sail strong, 18 of which were from 60 to 70 guns. You have been informed by my former letters how their van came up with him; but the Proteus being higher up the river, and having a longer course to make than the rest, found herself nearer the enemy, and saw them attack the Salisbury, commanded by the Chevalier de Nangis, and not the Griffon or the Driade, according to the account of the first vessel. The engagement was pretty long, and they assure me, that M. de Nangis behaved with great bravery. The Auguste and the Blackwall fought also a considerable time, but still making the best of their way that they could. It is to be observed, Sir, that a calm succeeding, our vessels, which were deeply laden,

den, made but little way, whereas those of the enemy, though much larger, were worked with the greatest ease. They even saw many things thrown overboard in the king's squadron to lighten the ships. At length, night put an end to the engagement; and M. de Rambur, who has come to my apartment, assures me, that he saw the king's ships disengaged, and on the morning of next day did not see M. de Forbin. He tells me even, that he drew the enemies large vessels in pursuit of him, to give some respite to M. de Forbin, in case he should be followed.

The Proteus not having been able to rejoin, nor see the squadron, has happily come into port, having been chased every day, and even yesterday in the evening; for the sea is at present every where covered with English and Dutch vessels. We even saw last night sixteen men of war, which a fisherman, who met them, says were English, and were those that within these four or five days convoyed the transports which carried the English troops from Ostend to England. You will understand, Sir, the force of our enemy at sea, when I tell you, that there is at present no less than thirteen English men of war from 60 to 70 guns, as guard between Bevezieres and the Downs. And I know also on good authority which I cannot question, that there are few days but a fleet of merchantment of about ninety sail, is seen passing from the west to the east, under a convoy of thirteen or fourteen men of war from 36 to 60 guns.

I forgot to mention to you, Sir, that the Scottish gentleman who came on board, and who was in France last winter, related that there has been for some time past in the Firth of Edinburgh some
Dutch

Dutch East-India ships, loaded to the value of more than three millions, which are waiting for a convoy to proceed to Holland.

Altho' after to-morrow I return to Ypres, where I have several affairs to transact, particularly, to give order for the subsistence of the troops, which as M. le Marquis de Camy has done me the honour to acquaint me, are to assemble the 10th of April on the line of Commynes; I will, nevertheless, Sir, not omit to inform you regularly of what passes here; for I can every day have news, if any happens, in twenty four hours time; and Mr. Jossier, Provincial Commissary in this city, a trusty and sensible man, will take care of every thing on this side, and send me information every day.

*A letter of M. de BERNIERES to Mr. ***.*

Dunkirk, April 1, 1708.

S I R,

SOME days ago I had the honour to inform you that the ten English battalions, which I mentioned to you in several of my letters, had embarked at Ostend, and it is now evident to us by the return of the convoy, which we have seen pass and repass, that they arrived at the Thames in a very short time. The return of the convoy towards Ostend, makes it probable, that there is to be another embarkation there; and I am even informed by letters, that the other English battalions have received orders to march to be likewise embarked. The same letters add, that on the 29th of last month they had prepared at Ghent twenty-five field pieces with ammunition, which are to be conducted to Middleburgh, and from thence to be transported to Eng-
land

land with a Dutch battalion. Although the news comes from a very good quarter, I can hardly believe it, not being able to think that England is so destitute of cannon and ammunition, that it must have them from the Low-Countries. Of this we shall have more certain intelligence in a few days.

The sea gentry continue here to make abundance of conjectures about the expedition, and many of them believe that M. de Forbin will have made a descent in Scotland, in some place to the north of the Frith of Edinburgh; hoping, that he may have deceived the enemy by some false course. Others conjecture, that he has always been pursued, and that it was impossible for him to make good a landing. He will be obliged to put into some port of Sweden or Denmark, not having provisions enough for the great number of men on board, to allow him to sail for Brest, by the north of Scotland and Ireland: so we reckon because the Proteus, which arrived yesterday, had provisions only for twelve or fifteen days.

It is proper to observe to you, Sir, that the Proteus is loaded with a great number of bales for the K— of England, and with arms and artillery. There are also some chests of arms on board the first vessel that arrived. Nothing has yet been brought ashore, nor shall be without an order. If you please, we shall be glad to receive your orders, when you think proper, to inform us what must be done with the bales; for as to the arms and ammunition, they will probably only be replaced in the arsenal.

A let-

*A letter of M. de BERNIERES to M. ***.*

Ypres, April 4, 1708.

WE have yet no news of the king's squadron by Dunkirk. The enemy have published and even printed concerning it an infinite number of bad circumstances and most prejudicial to us, which for the most part are certainly not credible. They yesterday made rejoicings at Menin, and other places in their possession; as if they had destroyed the king's vessels, and those of the whole squadron. But an Irishman come from Ostend to Newport has related that he heard a letter read at the Burgomasters of Ostend, in which it was mentioned that the king's ship named the Salisbury, commanded by M. de Nangis, had been taken by the enemy, not having been able to follow the rest, or disengage herself from two large English ships, against which she had fought all the afternoon of the 24th of last month, and which had kept all night within pistol-shot of her, as I have had the honour to mention to you in my former letters. This is very probable, and agrees with the news I received from the officers of the regiment of Luxembourg who were on board the Proteus.

But the same Irishman says also, that the letter he heard read, mentioned, that the remains of the king's squadron had entered some days ago, a firth about forty leagues to the north of that of Edinburgh, where is the port of Cromarty, which I mentioned to you, and that the English fleet had anchored in the latter firth. If this news, which is likely enough, be confirmed, there is room to hope that the landing will be made good with the assist-

L

ance

ance of the Scots, who seem to be very hearty friends, and who seem to me to keep no longer any measures with England where their intrigues are well known.

If the Salisbury is taken, which indeed I scarce doubt of, the enemy will have taken prisoners, besides M. Nangis the Captain of the ship, the Marquis de Lewis, Lord Griffin, le Marquis de Meuse Colonel of the Agenois, Mr. Fauverolle Lieutenant Colonel of the Auxerrois, M. de Segent Commissary of War, Mr. Salmon Engineer, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, twenty independent Irish officers, ten Serjeants, ten Corporals of the regiment of Fitzgerald, besides the crew of the ship. As the engagement was obstinate, a great many, without doubt have been killed.

*A letter of M. de BERNIERES to Mr. ***.*

Ypres, April 5, 1708.

S I R,

I Do myself the honour to send you a copy of a letter which I have just now received in cypher from one of my friends in Ghent, with whom I keep a correspondence. It quite revives my hopes, and flatters me that a descent will still be made in Scotland, notwithstanding the public rejoicings of the enemy, and the ridiculous accounts they have printed.

A

*A Copy of a letter written to Mr. BERNIERES from
Ghent, April 3, 1708.*

S I R,

TH E terrible engagement is reduced to a meer cannonade, and the compleat victory to the taking of the single vessel of the Salisbury. The affair is said to have happened in the following manner. Upon the arrival of your fleet at the mouth of the firth of Edinburgh, Mr. Forbin sent for all his captains on board and held a council. The English fleet being discovered while they were consulting together, they immediately weighed anchor and set sail. The English pursued, firing a great many guns, and raising a great many shouts. Your fleet answered them, advancing still in good order, but the Salisbury not being able to follow the rest, was surrounded by the enemy, and taken after a sharp engagement. Another vessel was like to have been attacked, but it was quickly assisted and disengaged. Your vessels, in the mean time, which were lighter than those of the enemy, getting at a greater distance from them, the English perceived that their pursuit was in vain, and returned as they say here to the bay of Edinburgh, where they dropt anchor and made rejoicings for their victory, while your vessels continued sailing to the north of Scotland, where they may try some other landing places. This is the news of last night; but this evening a great number of cannon are fired, to testify their joy for so compleat a victory.

*A letter of M. de BERNIERES to Mr. ***.*

Ypres, April 5, 1708.

SIR,

I Have received the letter which you did me the honour to write on the 29th of last month, in answer to mine of the 24th. According to your desire, I send you an account of the number of officers and recruits arrived at Dunkirk since the embarkation of their regiments, having also remarked the time of their arrival. In the same account you will find a list of the officers of the Irish brigades, landed from on board the Zephir's prize, and the Proteus, the 29th of March last. I have also added two other lists, one of the troops that have been landed from these two vessels, and another of the arms and bales of cloth, and other merchandize destined for the cloathing some regiments that were embarked. As the other officers and recruits arrive, I shall have the honour to send you a list of them, and also an account of the bales.

A list of arms and bales, &c. arrived at Dunkirk.

For the regiment of Luxembourg.

March 23.—500 muskets.

31.— 16 bales of cloth, hats, stockings, &c.

For the regiment of Boulannois.

March 31.—200 muskets.

For the regiment of Agenois.

March 29.—3 ton of hats.

April 3.—7 bales, and 3 bales of cloth stockings, &c.

The

The troops that have been landed from on board the Zephir's prize, and the Proteus, amount to 550 men, exclusive of officers.

*A letter of M. de BERNIERES to Mr. ***.*

Ypres, April 17, 1708, at 7 in the Evening.

S I R,

IT is with great regret that I send you a messenger to inform you of bad news; but M. le Comte de la Motte, hath judged it proper and even necessary, that we might receive, with the greater dispatch, your orders concerning many things which it will be necessary to take care of. Before the arrival of my messenger you probably will have received some general intelligence of part of the vessels of the king's squadron, as Mr. de Gay would, doubtless, dispatch a messenger to M. de Pont Chartrain upon his arrival. The following account of the bad news I received by an express. To-day, at ten in the morning, ten frigates of the squadron arrived in the road, all of them belonging to the townsmen. Six others are in view, which 'tis hoped will get in to-day. The officers say, that they left the K—— of England, and the rest of the squadron, from which they were separated by bad weather, off the Texel, the 2d of this month, without being able to arrive sooner on account of the contrary wind which only changed yesterday; and they hope that his Br—— M—— will instantly arrive with the rest of the fleet, which when they were separated from it had lost only the Salisbury and the Ecu-reuil.

They all agree, that on Friday the 24th of last month, the pilots having passed the Firth of Edinburgh by a mistake, they were obliged to return, so that it was evening before they arrived at the mouth of that river, and that next morning, as they were preparing to sail up, the enemies fleet appeared, which obliged the King's squadron to put to sea. The English having the wind of us, their van joined us, entered into the middle of our squadron, and attacked the Salisbury, which after defending herself beyond belief, was, at length obliged to surrender and was taken. Notwithstanding the night, the squadron kept together, and made all the sail they could to go, and land at Cromarty; but not one of them understanding the anchorage on that coast, M. de Forbin sent the *Americain* to see and take some pilots. That frigate returned, without being able to find any, and the enemies fleet forthwith appearing chased ours so briskly, that they were obliged to lay aside their design of attempting a descent, and to think only of returning to Dunkirk, which it appears has cost them no small labour, as part of the squadron only have reached the port from the 2d of the month, and that with great difficulty, although it is not above forty leagues from the Texel to Dunkirk. I am in no small anxiety for those vessels that are not yet arrived.

At the time they wrote to me, they were going to land the troops which were on board the ten vessels, to the number of 48 companies, who must certainly be greatly fatigued. We shall endeavour to accommodate them to the best of our power in this confusion. But it is truly impossible to lodge in this city such a number of troops, joined to those whom we expect, and the multitude of officers already
ready

ready arrived. M. la Comte de la Mothe is going to send some battalions to Berry, Gravelines, and Newport, till he shall have received your orders concerning them, and till that time I shall provide for the subsistence of them all. It would be very necessary to place the battalions that are landed into some quiet quarters, where they may recover their health. There is room to believe that some other vessels, besides the Salisbury are taken by the enemy, which will occasion the loss of five companies of the regiment of Bearn.

Few days will pass here, for some time, without something new, which I shall have the honour of informing you of regularly. I am extremely desirous to be able to inform you soon of the arrival of the K—— of England, who is on board the Maroe; and likewise of the arrival of the Auguste, which is the second vessel of the squadron, because, besides the person of his majesty, our million is on board these two vessels. Be so good as to give your orders, if you please, as to the disposal of that money, if it should safely arrive; namely, if it shall be so disposed as you regulated about three weeks ago. There are also arms, ammunition and bales to be replaced. We are making all things ready for the camp of 20 battalions and 20 squadrons under the lines of Commines. I am this moment to set out for Dunkirk, to take the direction of all that relates to my department.

Dunkirk, April 7th, 1708.
2 in the morning.

The Account of Mr. D'ANDREZEL of what passed during the voyage of the K. of England, after his departure from Dunkirk on the 17th of March.

HIS B. M——y set sail on the 17th of March, at six in the evening, with five men of war, two others fitted for transports, and twenty-one frigates. An equal number of vessels was to have been sent out to the road in the night-time, that the enemy might think that the squadron had not yet sailed. The weather becoming calm the squadron was obliged to come to an anchor off Newport, where it was kept by contrary winds till the 19th at 10 in the evening. During these two days of bad weather three frigates, having made signals of distress were obliged to return to Dunkirk, and Mr. de Forbin, on the 19th, dispatched an advice boat to Dunkirk to get intelligence of them.

A council was held in the apartment of the K. of England to consider whether they should continue their voyage to Scotland, notwithstanding the want of those forces which were on board those three vessels. His B. M——y decided in the affirmative, altho' on board those vessels there were no less than 800 men embarked, with many arms and provisions, and supposing that the whole fleet arrived in Scotland, it carried no more than 5100 troops, 10000 muskets, 1000 pistols, and 1000 musketoons and carbines, without any saddles, whereas

whereas Mr. Hoocke had always declared that the Scots demanded 6 or 8000 men, 20000 stand of arms, and 1000 saddles.

Mr. le Comte de Gaffé, who had that day, the 19th, received from his Majesty the patent of Marshal of France, and had taken the name of Matignon, entreated Mr. Forbin to give orders that the three vessels should rejoin the squadron as soon as they had furnished themselves at Dunkirk with what they wanted. They next thought of continuing their voyage, and after several deliberations as to the place in the north of Scotland, where Mr. Hoocke wanted them to land, or the firth of Edinburgh, the latter opinion prevailed by the advice of Mr. Middleton, and the harbour of Bruntisland was fixed upon for the landing place. From thence it was proposed to send a detachment to take possession of Sterling, where there is a bridge over the Forth.

After having sailed, from Monday at 10 at night to Tuesday at 6 in the morning, we were forced to lie to till 10, to wait for the vessels that had fallen behind. The rest of that day, and all night, we proceeded with a brisk gale, when his B. M——y became very sick. We continued our voyage on the 21st and 22d, but the following night, fearing lest we should pass beyond the mouth of the firth of Edinburgh, we judged proper to lie to. On Friday the 23d we discovered the coast of Scotland; but, having proceeded too far north, we were obliged to return southwards, to enter the river of Edinburgh.

Mr. le Comte de Forbin sent a frigate with an English flag up the river, and ordered her upon her

arrival to fire 20 canon, the signal agreed upon between Mr. Hoocke and the Scots. On the 23d we arrived only at the mouth of the river, near the island of May, where there is a light house. It was very happy for us that we did not go farther up; for on Saturday the 24th, at day-break, we perceived six English vessels, which we discovered to be the same that had appeared off Dunkirk. Mr. le Comte de Forbin, by the favour of a gale of wind, which came very timeously, gave orders for putting to sea, and in case of a separation of the ships of the squadron, appointed them to sail to Cromarty or Inverness in the north of Scotland.

The enemies fleet pursued ours very close, and four of their vessels came up with the *Auguste*, commanded by Mr. de Fourvrux. They began to engage about 4 in the afternoon, and while they were fighting the K. of England several times entreated the Comte de Forbin to put him on shore, declaring that he was resolved to remain in Scotland, altho' none were to follow him but his domestics; which Mr. Forbin, after representing to him that it was very improper, refused to agree to.

The English vessel, not finding herself a match for the *Auguste*, quitted her, and attacked the *Salisbury*, which was farther behind. After an engagement, which continued from 6 in the evening till 9, the *Griffin* and the *Auguste* having gone to the assistance of the *Salisbury*, night separated them from us, without our being able to know any further particulars. Our squadron was then dispersed, and we judged that the enemy had taken several of our ships, and that our only course, therefore, was to return to Dunkirk, which we have executed.

On

On Sunday morning of the 28th, we found ourselves within 10 hours sail of the land, and within six leagues of the enemy, whom we lost sight of two hours after. There now only remained twenty vessels without the advice boat, so that we had lost five since the engagement, among which was the Salisbury, without reckoning the three that had returned to Dunkirk. As we were no longer pursued, the Marshal de Matignon and Count Forbin proposed to the K. of England to attempt a landing at Inverness, which his B. M——y agreed to; but as there was no pilot on board who knew that coast, the Laird of Boyn was desired to go in search of one at Buchaness, when by a strong wind that arose we found it impracticable to continue our course towards the north. These reasons, and our apprehension of wanting provisions, obliged us, on the 26th, to direct our course for Dunkirk. We fell in with six Dutch vessels, which Mr. Forbin would have attacked, and judged that he would have taken, if he had not been charged with the person of the K. of England, and the troops and money of the King. The 27th, 28th and 29th, we made but little way, by reason of the calms and contrary winds. The 28th two frigates, sent back from Dunkirk, joined the squadron, escorted by four men of war. They related that they had run a great risk of being taken by forty of the enemy's ships, which they fell in with in the firth of Edinburgh. On the 29th, the advice boat, which had landed in Scotland two Scots men, rejoined the fleet, and all the news they brought was, that when they had landed the gentlemen they were ordered to sail off. Since that time the weather has been so contrary, that all we could do was to arrive, on the 17th, in the road of Dunkirk, with four vessels and five frigates. We hope the rest are arrived, or will arrive forthwith, in the
har-

harbour of that city. Mr. d'Andrezel adds, that tho' the landing had taken place, the success of the expedition would have been, nevertheless, very doubtful, by reason of the uncertainty both of a fit place for landing, and of the succours that they were to expect to join them. That therefore it was very fortunate to have brought back to Dunkirk the K. of England, the ships, the troops, and the money, after running so great a risk.

A Letter of Mr. D'ANDREZEL to Mr.
CHAMILLART.

From the road of *Dunkirk*,
17th April, 1708.

SIR,

WHEN it was believed that we were not to sail from Dunkirk, according to the orders which you sent me to cause the troops and the ammunition to be relanded, I had the honour to ask instructions from you as to the disposal of several persons whom I had sent for from Paris, or who had been assigned to me here by Mr. Bernieres and Mr. Bagnol, for several petty offices among the troops to be employed in Scotland, and I proposed to you that they should be payed one month's salary in lieu of the expences of their voyage, and of their abode at Dunkirk. As they have had a very long and troublesome voyage, and many of them are even sick, I hope you will approve of my paying them two months salary, at least to those who have come from Paris.

I beg

I beg of you also, Sir, to let me know your pleasure as to the payment of the general officers, a list of whom I have received from the Marshal de Matignon. It consists of four lieutenant-generals, two quarter-master-generals, four brigadiers, and a major-general; both as to their pay and their forage, upon what footing, and for what time. Is there any distinction to be made of the three old lieutenant-generals, the old quarter-master-general, and the old brigadier, from Mr. le Marquis de Heny the new lieutenant-general, Mr. Fitz-Gerard new quarter-master general, and Messrs. Mauny, Montandne and Hoocke new brigadiers? Ought we to reckon in the payment the money which they have already received by your orders, an account of which I received from Mr. de Pleuveat?

Be so good also to mention to me what you intend as to Mr. de Fulleville, who went express from Dunkirk to court, and to whom you gave, at two payments, 1500 livres and 800 livres. The Irish officers, who came from Languedoc, also demand the utensils for their present winter-quarters, a memorial of which I sent you the 9th of last month. We have arrived, Sir, only with four men of war and five frigates; and know not whether the rest of the squadron has got into port, or is still behind. Mr. Hoocke, who is going to Dunkirk, will inform himself, and give you notice, till you receive a more exact account from me when I land. I take the opportunity of Mr. Hoocke's going on shore to ask your orders as to the particulars above mentioned, that the general officers, the Irish officers, and others, may not be detained at Dunkirk.

I have

I have also advanced some money, both in sending postilions and buying kettles for the soldiers, the reimbursement of which I will ask from Mr. de Bernieres, the whole not amounting to 300 livres. As I have not touched the million which we brought on board, and shall return it to Mr. Bernieres in the same specie, the payment which I require must, therefore, be made by his orders. I shall not leave Dunkirk before I have replaced in the King's magazines all the provisions and ammunition that were brought from thence. I will likewise cause the soldiers kettles, which I had bought, to be replaced, and the sixty bales come from Paris for the King of England. I forgot to tell you, Sir, that the troops have been subsisted on board on the same footing as marines; and as the marines are allowed their subsistence at sea, I suppose it is your desire that the same allowance be also granted to the soldiers. They have suffered distress and fatigue enough.

*A Letter of Mr. DE BERNIERES to Mr.
CHAMILLART.*

Dunkirk, 3d April 1708.

SIR,

THESE few lines are only to accompany the dispatches of the Marshal de Matignon, and to have the honour of telling you, that I came here on the arrival of the K. of England, before I returned to Ypres, whither the approach of the campaign calls me. I shall wait your orders as to the disposal of the money, and the destination of the troops and military stores, arrived with the King's squadron, which has lost only the Salisbury, the Ecureuil, the Chateau de Delft, and the Petit Soleil.

*A Letter of the Marshal MATIGNON, in form of
a Journal of the Voyage.*

Dunkirk, 7th April, 1708.

S I R,

I Had the honour of informing you of our embarkation at Dunkirk, the 17th of March, and you will see by the following journal all that happened since that time till our return.

On the 17th of March, at 4 in the afternoon, Mr. le Comte de Forbin set sail with the fleet; but about two hours after night came on, the wind became contrary, and forced us to anchor off Newport, where we were detained all the 18th and 19th. The Proteus, on board of which were 200 soldiers, and the Guerrier and the Barrentin, with 200 soldiers, each were forced to return, on account of the bad weather, to Dunkirk. The wind changing the 19th, at 10 at night, we again set sail, and proceeding with a strong wind the two following days, on the 23d we discovered the firth of Edinburgh, and in the evening anchored at its mouth.

Next morning, as we were preparing to enter the river, we discovered 28 sail of the enemy, which we judged were the same that had appeared off Dunkirk. Mr. de Forbin immediately put to sea by the favour of a wind which happily rose from the land. The enemy followed within sight, and very near us all day the 24th; and four of their best sailing vessels having come up with some of our ships, about four in the afternoon began to cano-
nade

nade the *Auguste*, after which the English fell upon the *Salisbury*. The engagement between the two last vessels, and some others on both sides, which had come within half canon-shot of each other, continued till night, with a pretty smart fire of small arms from the *Salisbury*. As our fleet was dispersed, and the enemy were very near us, Mr. le Comte de Forbin steered a false course during the night, which had a good effect, for, on the morrow, we found ourselves, to the number of twenty sail, at a distance from the enemy.

I then had some discourse with Mr. Forbin, to know of him, whether, as we could not land at the firth of Edinburgh, we might not attempt a landing at some other place. He proposed to me Inverness, a port in the north of Scotland, and we immediately went together and mentioned our proposal to the K. of England, who received it with joy, and told us that we need only consult together about the proper means, and that he would follow what we determined upon. As we had no pilots on board, who knew that harbour, the Count de Forbin sent the Laird of Boyne in search of some at Buchaness. All the 25th the wind favoured our course to the north of Scotland; but, at 10 at night, a contrary wind arose, which continuing very strong all next day, Mr. Forbin said, that it was time to represent to the K— the inconvenience of continuing that course, which would inevitably occasion the dispersion of the rest of our fleet, and the scattered ships would run a great risk either of falling into the enemy's hands, or of being run aground, in case they were pursued, or even of wanting provisions. The impossibility of the Laird of Boyne's getting on shore, and consequently of bringing us pilots, the uncertainty and risks of land-
ing

ing at a port we were unacquainted with, and where the enemy might again surprize us, with other risks and difficulties being represented by Mr. Forbin to the K. of England, in presence of the Duke of Perth, Lord Middleton, Mr. Hamilton, Lord Galway, and Messrs. Beauharnois and Andrezel, the K. of England, with the unanimous approbation of all these gentlemen, determined to return to Dunkirk, where, on account of the calms and contrary winds, we did not arrive till to-day. I am very much afflicted, Sir, not to have a better account to give you, and to have seen all our hopes blasted by so unfurmoutable difficulties. I beg of you to be so good as to make the King acquainted with the excess of my grief on this occasion, and believe me to be perfectly, &c.

Upon my landing with the King, I find that the Salisbury, on board of which was Mr. le Marquis de Levy with 400 men, is missing, and we do not yet know what has become of the three other small privateers. Mr. de Bernieres has informed you that he had landed the troops as they had arrived, and had sent them into quarters, where they will need some repose. I shall immediately order on shore those that we have brought, and shall wait your orders as to the destination of them and the general officers. We were only nine ships in company when we arrived here.

Probably, Sir, you would be surprised not to receive dispatches from me when Mr. de Beauharnois arrived at court. As to this I must greatly blame Mr. de Forbin, who last night, about 11, set Mr. Beauharnois on shore off Ostend, where we anchored, without mentioning a word of it to me or Lord Middleton, or to any one, except the

M

Duke

Duke of Perth alone, whom he conducted into the King's apartment at 10 at night, when his Majesty was a-bed. I have spoken of it this morning to the King, who appeared much surpris'd that I was not inform'd, and greatly disapproved of the proceeding of Mr. de Forbin. Mr. Hoocke will give you an account of the particulars of this affair. I have charg'd him to consult with you about the commission which the K. of England has given him for the Queen. I must, in justice to him, say, that, since his arrival at Dunkirk, he has behaved with much prudence, has manifested a great zeal for the service of the K. of England, and has advanced nothing but what has appeared to us just, and to have proceeded from a thorough knowledge.

A Letter of Marshal DE MATIGNON to the King.

THE K. of England has delivered to me the commission of Marshal of France, with which it has pleas'd your Majesty to honour me. I want words to express to your Majesty how much I am affected with so great a mark of your goodness. But while I return your Majesty my most humble thanks, I venture to take the liberty to assure you, that this dignity, how great soever, can add nothing to the zeal which animated me to answer to the trust which your Majesty was pleas'd to have in me, as to the execution of a project, of which the greatest hopes were reasonably formed. I have inform'd Mr. Chamillart of the obstacles which prevented the execution of that enterprize, that he might give an account of them to your Majesty. I hope that your Majesty will believe how much I am afflicted with the bad
suc-

success of the expedition, and how eager I shall be of embracing more favourable opportunities of meriting that favour with which you have been pleased to honour me.

I am, with the most profound respect,

Your Majesty's

Most humble

And most faithful subject,

The Marshal DE MATIGNON.

*A Letter of Mr. DE BERNIERES to Mr.
DE CHAMILLART.*

Ypres, 30th April, 1708.

SIR,

AT length the ship, named the Chateau Delft, belonging to the squadron destined for Scotland, and of which we had no news, has arrived at Dunkirk, as they write me. There were on board the vessel seven companies of the regiment of Auxerrois, who are in a most miserable condition, having suffered extremely. I know no particulars, because, when the post came away, the vessel was in the road, but had not got within the jetty heads. I expect that the hospital will be filled with these seven companies, and I shall have the honour of sending you an exact account of them as soon as I shall have learned the particulars.

*An anonymous Letter of a Scotsman.**Edinburgh, 26th October, 1708.*

S I R,

I Have received your letter of the 13th, but I cannot but believe that some of your letters have been lost. For after all that I have mentioned to you from your friends in this country, and of the state they are in, it is impossible but you would have answered me in some more positive manner, as to what we are to expect, than what is contained in your letters that we have yet received. Your friends know, and are sensible of, the difficulties in which you are. They make not the least doubt of the dispositions and good inclinations of the K. our master; but you cannot but acknowledge that the state of your friends here is worthy of pity: their life, their fortune, and all that is most dear to them, is in danger. In the mean time they are kept in ignorance and uncertainty of what they are to expect. You ought not to be surpris'd when I tell you that some of them begin to lose their patience, and if this uncertainty continues any time, there will be likewise many others who will lose theirs. You always bid us hope that every thing will go well; but you speak only in general terms, without fixing any time for our deliverance, or entering into any particulars. Your friends can draw no other conclusion from this, but that you are in the same uncertitude with them. You may,

perhaps, remain so for some time; but for your friends in this country it is impossible for them to continue long without knowing on whom they must rely. Think seriously of it, I beg of you, instantly, and don't put off an affair which cannot admit of delay. This kingdom was never so destitute of troops as it is at present: all the regular forces are in Flanders, so that, besides the garrisons of three or four castles, there remain in the whole kingdom only two battalions of infantry, and one single company of dragoons; and we are well informed, that England is at present as naked of troops as this country. Mr. Farquharson, after staying near three months in the island of Egge to no purpose, in expectation of the vessel that was to carry him off, being at length discovered by some persons belonging to a neighbouring garrison, has been obliged to come into the low country, where he waits for some opportunity of going over to Norway, with the design of proceeding to France as soon as he can. Our other affairs are much in the same condition, as they were when I wrote to you formerly.

A
M E M O R I A L

C O N C E R N I N G

The Affairs of SCOTLAND.

IN the present state of things it seems impossible to re-establish the affairs of France without some great and important enterprize. But what renders an enterprize of that nature very dangerous, is that the whole must be risked for the whole, so that if the enterprize should fail (for example, if a general battle should be lost) the consequence might be fatal, by putting affairs in a much worse condition than before; and besides, even altho' the enterprize should, in some measure, prove successful, affairs would not be thereby re-established. It is but too well known, that the enemy are not baffled with the loss of one battle or one town, and that nothing but a train of victories and advantages over them will be able to reduce them, and we see with grief how little appearance there is to expect this in the present situation of affairs. The enterprize upon Scotland is distinguished from all others in the following particular, that, setting aside the person of the K. of England, whose preservation ought to be very dear, the risk that France runs is very small, and yet, in case of success, the re-establishment of their affairs is certain. For, at worst, the loss of a small body of troops, and a few

few vessels would make but a small change in affairs ; and if success attended the expedition, the grand alliance would be directly ruined, and the King in a condition to give law to his enemies.

To be certain of the advantage of this enterprize, we need only consider three things. First, Whether the K— of England would hazard himself to conduct the expedition, for every body is convinced that his presence is absolutely necessary to make it succeed : Secondly, whether the enterprize itself is practicable ; and thirdly, whether the enterprize, if well executed, would produce the effect that is pretended in regard to France.

In the first question, thanks to God, there is not the least difficulty, his B—— M—— being very ready to hazard his life for the interest of France, even though his own were no ways concerned. As to the 2d, it must indeed be confessed that difficulties have always appeared in the execution of this project as often as it has been mentioned ; but it must also be acknowledged that it has hitherto been considered, only, or principally, with regard to the restoration of the K— of England, and not as a decisive expedient for the re-establishment of the affairs of France.

We ought then to consider, whether an expedition to Scotland is, in reality, the best, not to say the only means of re-establishing affairs if it succeed ; and whether the risk with regard to France be so small, that it would not put affairs in a much worse condition than they are, although it should not succeed. If upon examination the truth of these two propositions shall appear, the expedition

to Scotland will immediately become a capital affair, and of the last importance to the state; and when it is once considered as such, all difficulties will be surmounted, if efforts be made proportionable to the importance of the undertaking. For the success of the expedition in question, there will be needed troops, and a general of an established reputation. The Scots have always demanded the duke of Berwick as general, and that the Irish regiments might be among the number of the troops, because they speak the same language, and are accustomed to their manner of living. There must also be granted a considerable sum of money, and a good quantity of arms and military stores. But it is not in this that the great difficulty consists, but principally in the marine; and it must be confessed, that nothing but the affair's being decisive for France, would make it practicable to surmount all difficulties. But we dare hope, that if the most experienced sea-officers were consulted, some of them would, without hesitation, take the charge of the affair, and would find out expedients to effectuate it. Prudence seems to require that they should be consulted in the present affair, and that their decision should be followed.

The 3d question depends entirely upon the present disposition of Scotland; and this cannot be better discovered, than by considering the disposition of the Scots during the last expedition of the K— of England, when, as it is most publickly known, all the kingdom was ready to declare for that prince the very moment he set his foot on land; and those who were in the administration were so convinced of this, that they had taken measures to retire to Berwick as soon as they should hear that he was landed. The avowed resentment of so many persons of quality,

lity, who were carried prisoners to London by the English since that time, and the measures the English have taken to strip them of their vassalages, the plans that have been made for erecting forts in several places of the country for oppressing the nobility and gentry, are certain proofs that the present inclination of the Scots to shake off the yoke is greater than ever. The probability of success at present is founded not on the inclinations alone of that people as formerly, but on their own interest. They see clearly at present, that nothing but the return of their lawful K—, can save them from a shameful slavery. There can be no doubt therefore made of the good disposition of the Scots.

As to England, although it is not certainly known, that there is a party formed for their K—; yet it is evident to every one, that they support the war only by the credit of their bank-bills; and it is well known, that upon the rumour of the late expedition to Scotland, the credit of those bills suddenly sunk to such a degree, that if the expedition had not suddenly failed, the Exchequer, and the Bank of London, would have been shut up within three days, and all affairs thrown into the utmost confusion. And no reason can be assigned why the same thing should not still happen, upon the first news of the landing of the K— of England in Scotland. If England were once in that confusion, it is easy to judge what effect that would produce in regard to France. It remains only to be added, that in case the scheme be approved of, there is no time to lose, and the sooner it is put in execution it will more certainly succeed. This is the unanimous opinion of all the well-affected in that country. During the winter, corn and hay may be found every where. Scotland and England were never so destitute of regular

gular troops as at present, which are almost all sent to Flanders; and the army of the enemy is in that situation at present, that it would have the greatest difficulty to send them any succours. Lastly, if it should please Heaven to bless this scheme with success, it would be, after all that has passed, a glorious finishing of this campaign.

A Memorial presented by Mr. FLEMING to Mr. CHAMILLART, Minister and Secretary of State to the most Christian King.

THE faithful subjects of the K—— in Scotland have, for a long time past, waited impatiently for an opportunity of throwing off the yoke of usurpers, and restoring their lawful K—. The severity of the new government hindered them from freely communicating their sentiments, till the arrival of Mr. John Murray in 1703, who behaved with so much prudence, that he laid the first foundation of the good correspondence among the well-affected.

They impatiently waited to know the intentions of the most Christian King with regard to them, when it pleased his Majesty to send Colonel Hooke the last year to Scotland, with an offer of his protection, and a full power to treat with them, and also to honour several of their Lords with his letters. They accepted the protection of so great a King with the most perfect sentiments of respect; but the parliament being then assembled, it was impossible for them to regulate and concert with their friends all the measures necessary for the expedition, which they had, and still have at heart. They opened themselves entirely to the said Colonel, with whose zeal and conduct they were perfectly satisfied,

tisfied, and they obliged themselves by word and writing, in the letters which they did themselves the honour to write to his most Christian Majesty, to send one or more persons, with full instructions, and they named me as the person whom they had then pitched upon.

The parliament having continued its session longer than was expected, the Lords, who had already written to the King, were obliged to delay my departure beyond the time they had prescribed, to have leisure to take measures, and to consult with their friends in the counties. But they had no sooner consulted with them, than they dispatched me with new letters for his most Christian Majesty, and others for the K— my master ; and they gave me ample and precise instructions, which, together with the substance of the letters they communicated to me, that in case I should be obliged to throw my papers into the sea, I might be able to inform the two K—s of all that was contained in my instructions.

The misfortune which they foresaw has happened. I was taken, and obliged to destroy my papers ; but I hope that I shall still obtain credence, the principal chiefs having already mentioned me in their letters, and by Colonel Hoocke. Besides, I have the honour to be particularly known to the Q—n my mistress, and to the Duke of Perth my relation. In confidence of this, I am going to acquit myself of my duty, by representing to his most Christian Majesty the disposition of the inhabitants of Scotland, and their wants, according to my instructions.

Scot-

Scotland is divided into two parts by the river Tay. All the counties on the north of that river are almost entirely devoted to the service of the K. their master, and these provinces, with the islands, make almost two thirds of Scotland. The greatest part of the counties on the south of the Tay are also well-affected, as will appear immediately in the more particular account. The counties on the north of Tay are best stocked with brave and hardy men; the southern counties are more fertile.

All the chiefs of the most antient families in Scotland have a great number of vassals dependent on them, and are thereby able to arm a great number of men in a few days. The most powerful of these chiefs are those who inhabit on the north of the river Tay, and those whose estates lie near the borders of England. The Duke of Gordon, the Lord High-Constable, Lord Marshal, the Earl of Hume, the Viscount of Stormont, and some other chiefs, upon whom the well-affected rely for the conducting of this affair, have charged me to represent to his most Christian Majesty, in their name, and in the name of all the well-affected, that they are in a condition to raise 20,000 men, namely, 17,000 foot, and 3000 horse and dragoons.

They have also charged me to inform his Majesty of the names of the leading men in each county, by which he will see, that not only the chief and most powerful Lords, and the greatest part of the gentry, are engaged in the interests of the K—, but may perceive at one view, that they join hands all together, from the north of Scotland to the borders of England. As the disposition of the Highlanders in the north, is, without doubt, well known to his Majesty, it is not necessary to present him with

a list of their names. I am nevertheless able to give it; but I shall only say, that all the clans in the north, and in the isles, are almost all engaged in the K—'s interest.

I shall begin my list of the well-affected at the county of Ross, which is pretty far north; and I shall proceed from thence to the borders of England. In the shires of Ross and Inverness, the Marquis of Seaforth, who is at present in France, and his great uncle, will be followed by the greatest part of the people, and by the powerful clan of the Mackenzies. In Murrayshire we have the Earl of Murray, of the house of Stuart, the family of Duff, and the Laird of Coxtoun, and almost all the country. The Duke of Gordon is very powerful in the counties of Badenach and Lochabar, which are west from Murrayshire, and he will be followed by all the country. East from Murray is Bamfshire, where the Duke of Gordon, the Earl Marshal, and the Lairds of Boyn and Auchterhouse will be among the first who will take the field. In Buchan, Aberdeenshire, and Marr, we are sure of the Lord High Constable, the Earl of Aberdeen, and his son Lord Haddow, Lord Saltoun, Fraser, Pittligo; and in Inverness the Lairds of Kieth, Balynhove, Pitzfadell, and Pittury. The shire of Mearns will follow the Lord Marshal of Scotland, who is hereditary bailiff of that county, with the Lairds of Elfick, Newton, Balmaire, and Glenfarquar. In Angus we are sure of all the nobility and gentry, the chief of which are the Earls of Strathmore and Panmure, with their brothers, the Earl of Airlie, who is very powerful in vassals, the Earl of Miggle, with the Lairds of Eagle, Pourry, Fintry, and Pitcur. Perthshire, if we comprehend in it the country of Athol, Gaury, and Broadalbin, is full of the
well-

well-affected, who will follow the Duke of Perth, the Marquis of Drummond his son, the Lords Nairne, Dupplin, and Kinnaird. The Duke of Athol gives reason to hope well of him; but however it be, his vassals will follow the Lairds of Strovaun, Bulliachan, and Appin. The Lairds of Aberlanie of the house of Murray, of Logie, of Machong, of the house of Perth, Inchbrakie and Orchil, of the family of Graham, and the Laird of Balchadely, will be among the first who take the field; and we are sure of this whole shire with the Earl of Broadalbin and his son. This chain comes to the banks of the Tay.

On the south side of that river, next the sea, is the county of Fife, where we have the Lords Sinclair and Balmerino, and the Laird of Kinross, on the west of Fife. Stirlingshire, therein comprehending Montieth, is universally well-affected. The chief of those whom we are certain of here, is the Earl of Linlithgow, and Calendar, hereditary great bailiff of the county, with the Lairds of his house, Lord Kilsyth, the Lairds of Tove, Keir, Pomeys, and Cardenne. East from Stirling, is the city and county of Edinburgh, with the two counties of the Lothians. We are certain of many in the said city who will take arms at the head of several hundreds of men, as soon as the K— appears in the country. And in the Lothians, there are many gentlemen well-affected. From this county, to the borders of England, will be found the greatest part of the horse. Along the sea-coast are the shires of the Merse and Tiviotdale, then Eskdale and Liddefdale. All the gentry of these provinces will be conducted to the K—— by the Earl of Hume, Lord Stormont, and their friends. In Tweeddale, the Earl of Traquair, of the house of Stuart, and the Laird of
of

of Stanhope, are powerful. In the shires of Annandale, Niddesdale, and Galloway, are the Earl of Niddesdale, and Viscount of Tenmure, the Laird of Spinkell, with the numerous clan of Maxwells, and there is some hopes also of the Earl of Galloway. Thus the K——'s party is connected through the whole kingdom, and we are certain of being masters of all the shires, except Argyleshire, Clydesdale, Renfrew, Dumbarton, and Kyle. The Earl of Broadalbin will be followed by many out of Argyleshire, and in Clydesdale the Duke of Hamilton has great authority. We make no doubt of his good intentions; but knowing that the eyes of the government are always upon him, he will plainly wait till he see the party formed. The Earl of Wigtoun my brother, and the Laids of Lufs and Kilmaronock will be a sufficient check upon the disaffected in Dumbartonshire. An affair of this nature cannot be communicated to all the well-affected, and it is a great proof of the zeal of those to whom it is trusted, that so many people have been able to keep the secret so inviolably. We make no doubt of many others joining us, though we have not judged it necessary to consult them all. They have not given me a particular list of the number of men which each county will furnish, but they have charged me to declare, that they will be in a condition to raise 20,000 men: and it may be said in behalf of these troops, that the army of Lord Dundee made it appear in the last war, that although they were but new levies, they were in no point inferior to regular troops.

They did not think it necessary to fix upon particular places of rendezvous. Every chief will assemble his troops upon his own estate, and will join them to those of his neighbour, and they will march
directly

directly to the place where the K—— their master shall land. Scotland is at present so well stocked with provisions, that they have two years crops still untouched in their granaries ; so that the well-affected will make magazines in every county in a very short time. As they make no doubt of being masters of the whole kingdom, they will raise the taxes already granted to the government, to help to support their troops, which will assemble with so much dispatch, that they make no doubt of quickly carrying the war into England, of which they are almost certain of making themselves masters, before the English could make the smallest opposition, all the country abounding in provisions, and being open, and filled with people, well-affected, many of whom are known to the Q—— my mistress.

And they flatter themselves not only to be able to restore the K—— my master, but likewise to do a service to the Most Christian King, in attacking the head of the alliance, and putting it out of the power of England to assist her allies. England is at present so destitute of troops, that we doubt not of making a great progress there without any opposition ; for it will require a considerable time to recall the English troops from Flanders. If they are not recalled, we will quickly be masters of the kingdom ; and if they are recalled, the Most Christian King will find himself superior to his enemies. The Princess of Denmark has not above 18,000 national troops in Flanders, more than a third of whom are Scots. These she will not venture to send against us, and she cannot bring foreign troops into the kingdom, without an act of parliament ; by all which we shall gain time, which is all we want. We are not in the least afraid of being obliged to retreat. If even that should happen, they durst not
lessen

lessen their army, while ours would subsist in places where it would be impossible for them to force us.

Having thus represented what we are able to do under the protection of the Most Christian King, I come now to the succours, which I have orders to entreat his Majesty to grant us. I most humbly beg of his Majesty, in the name of the Scottish nation, to enable the K— our sovereign to come and put himself at the head of his faithful subjects, and to order him to be accompanied by a body of troops, capable of protecting him against his enemies, till his friends shall be able to join him with their forces. Without the K—'s presence they can do nothing ; and they know that his Most Christian Majesty will not expose the person of their sovereign with a handful of men. They leave it to the two K—s to regulate the number of troops, not having any authority to treat of the entry of foreign troops into the kingdom ; but they will receive and join themselves to those whom their sovereign shall bring with him. Till Colonel Hooke's arrival in Scotland, they thought it expedient that a descent should be made in England at the same time that the succours landed in Scotland, but they yielded to the reasons of that Colonel, and do not require any troops to be sent to Scotland ; but they hope, from the goodness of his Majesty, that he will cause the succours to be sent to Scotland to be made as powerful as the state of his affairs will permit.

They likewise beg of his Majesty to send them arms for 17,000 foot, and 3000 horse and dragoons, with furniture for these last, and ammunition in proportion. This quantity of arms is necessary for them, for arming a part of their first levies, and as a reserve for any occasion that should happen, Scotland being extremely destitute of arms and ammunition. Such a concession from the King would re-

unite all parties, and would contribute more than any thing else to the restoration of his M——y.

It is believed also, that a general amnesty for all, without exception, provided they do not oppose the K—, would likewise contribute much to his restoration, and to the good success of his designs. The Most Christian King having given a power to Colonel Hooke to treat of the re-establishing of the antient alliances between his Majesty and the kingdom of Scotland, we hope his Majesty will have the goodness still to retain the same favourable intentions for the said kingdom.

(Signed)

FLEMING.

A Narrative of the Voyage of M. FLEMING to Scotland, and of the present state of that kingdom.

HA V I N G received an order from the K— my master, on the 28th of February, 1708, to set out for Scotland, I left St. Germain on the 29th, charged with instructions, which his M——y judged necessary for the principal Lords of that kingdom, and was pleased to trust me with. I left Paris the 1st of March, and I arrived at Dunkirk on the 3d, where the absence of Mr. Canan, whom I was ordered to carry with me to conduct me, hindered my embarking till the 6th, when Mr. Arnott arrived from Paris, to be transported to Scotland, with some instructions of the K— my master, lest any misfortune should happen to me. Count Forbin, and M. de Guay, intendant of the marine, judged it proper to send us both off the same evening in different

different frigates. I went on board the *Cigalle*, commanded by M. Lotton, which had formerly, on two different occasions, sailed from Dunkirk.

Having arrived on the 13th within two leagues of the land, I went on board a fishing-boat, that I might not be suspected, and landed at the castle of Slaines, belonging to the Earl of Errol, who received the news I brought him, after which he had sighed so long, with all the joy that might be expected from a man, who had given all the proofs of most extraordinary zeal for the service, being greater than could be required from one less zealous than himself, he having exposed himself and his family to almost inevitable ruin, by receiving into his house all envoys who have been sent to Scotland these four or five years past, the vessels which have been sent thither sailing always directly to his castle. He also furnished to all, without exception, money and horses, necessary to keep up a correspondence throughout the kingdom, and even hired vessels for some persons, which has cost him large sums, and greatly indebted that family.

The Earl of Errol having read the K—'s instructions, which I put into his hands, instantly dispatched a messenger to Mr. Malcolm, a gentleman of known fidelity, and who lived very near the mouth of the Firth of Edinburgh, with orders to have a boat ready and pilots, to go on board the first vessel that should give the signal agreed on. This Mr. Malcolm punctually executed, having been on board the *Proteus*, the only vessel that entered the Firth, for which he has been obliged to keep himself concealed ever since. The same express of the Earl of Errol went afterwards, by his orders, along the coasts of Fife and Lothian, to give notice to the

well-affected to have boats and pilots ready, which was so faithfully executed by them, that many of them have been imprisoned on this account.

Upon my arrival, he also sent to the Earl Marshal, who living at no great distance, came the same evening, when I gave him the instructions I had for him. He immediately took the necessary measures for giving notice to his friends in that country, and for going to the county of Marr, where he is hereditary great bailiff; and next day he accordingly went thither. As I was ordered to follow the measures which should be prescribed to me by the Lord High Constable and Earl Marshal, in giving notice to the chiefs of the country, and delivering to them the instructions of the K— my master, which I had for them, they desired me on the 4th to write to Mr. Nicolson, Catholick bishop of that kingdom, to inform him of the present state of affairs, that he might give notice to the Catholicks of the North to hold themselves in readiness. I wrote likewise, by their orders, to the Duchess of Gordon upon the same subject, which she communicated to the Marquis of Huntly her son, who was then in the North, that he might make every thing ready in the counties of Inverness, Ross, and Lochabar, in which counties he has great interest.

I likewise gave notice to the Laird of Coxtoun, who is well known to the K— for his fidelity, and the services which he rendered him in the late war. Having seen the Chevalier Kieth and Colonel Gidun, and the Earl of Errol having engaged to give notice to Major-general Buchan, on the 14th I left Slaines, which is in the county of Aberdeen. That shire, and all those northward from it, were very zealous for the interests of the K—. I passed the shire of
Marr

Marr without stopping, as the Earl Marshal had engaged to inform them of what was necessary.

On the 16th I arrived at Lord Strathmore's in Angus, and gave him the instructions of the K—. He was transported to see affairs in so great forwardness, and sent to some of the chief gentry, in order to take the necessary measures at that juncture. He also sent to Lord Panmure, but he was at Edinburgh, on particular business of his own. The K—is always sure of him, he having never consented to take the oaths to the present government. The same evening I arrived at Lord Nairne's, in the county of Perth, who expressed great zeal for the service of the K—; and as I had a letter of the Earl of Errol for him, that he might inform me of the most proper measures to see his brother the Marquis of Athol, he undertook to conduct me to him. We found that Lord in such a temper as we could wish. For five months before he had all his vassals ready to take arms upon the first news of the K—'s arrival. He is very powerful, both in the number of his own vassals, and of others, who are bound to join him. He asked of me several times, and with great earnestness, the name of the General who was to command them. I found him and all the other chiefs, whom I saw, fully persuaded that it was the Duke of Berwick; for they could not imagine that he could be recalled from Sp in for any other purpose, as he was a subject of his B——c M——y. They had conceived so great an esteem for him, that I durst not venture to tell them that he was not to be employed in the expedition; but told them, that before his arrival at court, that could not be determined.

Lord Nairne afterwards conducted me to Lord Broadalbin's, who not only engaged to cause his vassals, who are very numerous, to join the K—, but also to keep the Argyleshire men, who are looked upon as the most disaffected, so in awe, that the K— should meet with no opposition from them. He read the K—'s instructions, which I gave him, with great joy. From thence I went to Castle-Drummond, where I found the Marquis of Drummond and his brother, sons of the Duke of Perth. They received the good news that I brought them, with great joy; and the Marquis immediately sent to give notice to several chiefs of the Highlanders, who have a confidence in him, to hold themselves in readiness, and took also the necessary measures to inform the other chiefs of that country. I next day went to Stirlingshire to Lord Kilsyth's, who was then at Edinburgh, as was also my brother the Earl of Wigtoun, who lives very near that place, though in another shire. The people of Stirlingshire are very unanimous for the K—'s service, and had united under the command of the Earl of Linlithgow. On the 22d I went to the Laird of Kilmaronock's in Dumbartonshire. He is very zealous in the K—'s interest, and sent to the Earl of Dundonald his nephew, to inform him of the state of affairs. I remained here some days, expecting, with impatience, the news of the K—'s arrival, who, according to the measures taken when I left Dunkirk, was to have embarked on the 11th. In a few days a rumour prevailed, that the K— had landed in the North, which I could hardly believe; but the report coming from every quarter, I set out for that country, and on my journey, I found that, on the same report, the Lairds of Keir, Toven, and Cardenne, with Colonel Gredene, had taken the same route. I travelled two days with them; but
finding

finding no confirmation of the news, they were obliged to separate, and get home the best way they could. I continued my journey, and met with Lord Nairne, who was returning from the castle of Hamilton, where he had been to speak to the Duchess dowager, the mother of the present Earl of Arran. As the Presbyterian ministers have a great influence with her, there was one in his retinue to gain over the minister of Hamilton, who has great authority with the Duchess. She appeared very zealous for the K——'s service; but she said, she could undertake nothing in the absence of the Earl her son, who was in England on his particular affairs. Though some blamed his being absent at that juncture, yet it is certain, that he had taken all the necessary measures to receive the orders and letters that should come to Scotland for him. In effect, he received those which I brought for him, and it is believed that he would have done very considerable service to the K—, by the number of horse which he would have brought from the north of England.

It was about this time that the bad success of the enterprize began to be known, by the arrival of the English fleet under admiral Byng in the Firth of Edinburgh; but the well-affected had a difficulty to believe that they would retire, without endeavouring to make a descent at Cromarty, and even after they retired from the northern coast, they flattered themselves that they would sail towards Clyde; but the K—'s return to Dunkirk, which was known by the public papers, threw the whole country into a consternation that cannot be expressed. I had been a witness of the good disposition of the great part of the kingdom through which I had travelled, and I was well informed of the good intentions

of the rest of the nobility and gentry of the country. Never was seen so universal a joy at Edinburgh, as that which appeared in every body's countenance for three or four days before the K—'s arrival. The loyal subjects thronged together, and those of the government durst not appear in public. They had no confidence in the regular troops, knowing that the best part, both of the officers and soldiers, were well affected to the K—. Besides, there was neither powder nor ammunition in the castle of Edinburgh, nor in that of Stirling; and they knew that all the gentry would revolt from the government the moment the K— landed. So that it was believed that on the K—'s arrival, those who adhered to the government, would retire towards Berwick; but when it was known by the Gazettes that the K— was returned to Dunkirk, the consternation was so great, that every body appeared distracted. They had received orders, after the instructions that I had given them, not to take arms openly, or appear in the field till the landing of the K—. The French fleet had retired, without their receiving any order from the K— how they were to act, and they had no chief or person who could take upon him to give them orders. In the mean time, the arrival of the English fleet in the road of Edinburgh, and the retreat of the French, had given new courage to those of the government, who sent heralds to summon the principal nobility and gentry, that were in the K—'s interest, to appear personally before the privy council, under pain of rebellion; which nevertheless they did not do, till fifteen days after the departure of the French fleet, and after they had heard of its arrival at Dunkirk. It is certain, that nothing could have so irritated the nation in general, as the treatment which the nobility and gentry received, in sending them under a guard
to

to England. This has opened the eyes even of those who were most zealous for the Union, and made them see clearly what they are to expect from a nation, which begins already to treat them with so much inhumanity. And it may be justly said, that the Scottish nation were never known so generally disposed to hazard their lives and fortunes to free themselves from this slavery, if they were put in a condition to act.

Although the greatest number of the chief nobility of the country are at present under confinement, it is nevertheless certain, that there is scarce any considerable family, that has not sons, brothers, or near relations, who would put themselves at the head of their vassals in the common cause, if there was but an opportunity. They are in general persuaded, that his Most Christian Majesty, so universally known and admired for his generosity and greatness of soul, having as it were, engaged them in the cause for which they suffer, will not abandon them, especially as they have failed in nothing on their side of what was required of them. After the fidelity which they have shewn to their lawful and natural sovereign, which is certainly augmented by the vigour and firmness of his conduct in the late expedition, nothing so much contributed to make them engage to expose themselves in the manner they have done, as the promises made to them by Colonel Hooke, that his Most Christian Majesty would support them, and not abandon them, and his shewing them the full powers he had to make them that promise.

A
M E M O R I A L
C O N C E R N I N G
T H E S C O T S.

TH E Memorial signed by the principal persons among the Scots in the name of their nation, and their letters to the two K—s, written with their own hands, signed with their names, sealed with their arms, and addressed to their M——s, are indisputable proofs of the disposition of this people, in the month of May, 1707.

The arrival of the * Laird of Boyn in the month of September last, with letters of credence from them, shews that they were still in the same disposition.

The letters which they wrote from time to time during all the winter, to hasten the departure of the succours, prove that they had not altered their minds.

* Sir James Ogilvie of Boyn.

The

The Most Christian King, in order to secure the secret, did not think proper to acquaint the Scots with the departure of the K— of England, before the beginning of March, 1708.

His B—c M—y having prepared instructions for the chieftains of this nation, they were read in the council by Monsieur de Torcy, one of the last days of February, 1708. And his Most Christian Majesty approved them.

By these instructions, the Scots were forbid to stir, or give any sign of their intentions, till the arrival of the K—, their sovereign, in Scotland.

They were likewise ordered, by the eighth article of these instructions, to omit even the most useful things, rather than give room to suspect their design.

The sixth article contains what they should do, in order to favour the debarkation ; namely,

1. To have upon the coast of each shire, a gentleman ready to go off to the first ship that should appear, in order to give an account of the state and disposition of the country.

2. To send pilots to conduct the fleet.

The Scots have duly observed both these directions. 1. The squadron approached only the shire of Fife. A gentleman of that country, by name Malcolm, whose fidelity and capacity, as well as his person, have long been known to the Q—, went on board the Proteus, which appeared several hours before

before the squadron, and assured Monsieur de Rambur, that all was ready in the country, and that his B——c M——y was impatiently expected there.

He spoke still more fully upon that subject to M. Hatcher, one of the Q—'s gentlemen, to M. Delaval, captain of foot, and to M. Stafford, * ensign of the ship. These three were on board the Proteus, and the two first of them knew perfectly this gentleman, who gave them a letter to be delivered to the Duke of Perth, assuring him of the good disposition of Scotland.

2. The gentleman left some pilots on board the Proteus : fifteen or twenty others went on board the squadon, some of them in the enemy's sight ; and several of these pilots came to France.

On the 26th of March, two days after the Count de Forbin's retreat, the frigates which sailed from Dunkirk some days after the squadron, having got pretty far up in the river of Edinburgh, some Scottish pilots came on board to acquaint them, that the enemy was upon the coast, with a superior force : for which reason they advised the commandant to retire with all speed. They embarked, and came to Dunkirk with him.

All the pilots assert, that if the squadron had arrived in the river of Edinburgh two hours sooner, it would have been easy to secure it from all insults of the English fleet. This is confirmed by M. Warstable, captain of the Dunkirk galley, one of

* The French have officers called ensigns on board their King's ships.

the frigates of the squadron, and by his lieutenant M. Saint Jean, both of whom are well acquainted with this river.

Several other pilots are of the same opinion : and there is but one man, that has frequented this river, who speaks differently from them.

MEMORIAL

MEMORIAL

CONCERNING

SCOTLAND, 1708.

THE enterprize in question will require as many muskets and bayonets as can be furnished, pistols, saddles, and other accoutrements for two or three thousand horses, powder and ball in proportion to the arms, with moulds, of proper sizes, to cast bullets in the country, where there is no want of lead: and besides this, powder for the Scottish troops which are already armed; six pieces of cannon, of which two are to be 24 pounders, with their carriages and balls; two mortars, with bombs, and all other necessaries; and a sufficient quantity of powder for the cannons and mortars.

It will be right to send now some Scottish officers, but not above three or four at first; because it would be difficult to find more, who might safely be entrusted with a secret, on the keeping of which, the success of the enterprize may depend.

It will be necessary to settle what will be wanting for the subsistence of these officers, as well during their voyage, as while they shall be in Scotland.

It

It will likewise be necessary to know, at what time, and upon what conditions, the person, whom the K— shall send, is to distribute the arms, accoutrements, and ammunitions of war, and the quantities proper to be sent for the beginning of the enterprize: whether this distribution is not to be made till the treaty is concluded, or whether it shall be made as soon as a certain number of troops are on foot, and what number?

It is supposed that the treaty here spoken of, will comprehend chiefly what relates to the war; namely, the manner in which the Scots pretend to make it, the number of troops that they will raise, their means of subsisting them, the enterprizes they purpose making in England, the succours they may demand of the K——, and a General which they ask for, doubtless to command in chief.

It will be necessary that the person, who shall be sent by the K—, shall know what he has to do after the conclusion of the treaty, and the landing of the arms; that is to say, whether he is to remain in that country, in his usual service.

Concerning the passage over to Scotland.

Two ships must be fitted out, of twenty or twenty-four guns each, that they may be the better able to defend themselves in case of need, and that one of them may be sent back with any news that may require dispatch, while the other shall help to land the arms and ammunitions at the places that shall be thought necessary.

That the commanders of these ships shall have fictitious orders, purporting, that they are bound
for

for Dantzik, to which place it will not seem extraordinary that arms should be sent, in order to their being conveyed into Poland ; or else for Newfoundland, or Canada, sailing round by way of Scotland for greater safety. The real orders shall be delivered to the person whom the K— shall send, and he shall not open them till he comes to a certain latitude at sea, then to intrust them under the seal of secrecy to the two commanders, who shall be ordered to execute whatever they shall be bid to do on the behalf of the K—, by the person that his Majesty shall send, either during the whole time of their being out, or during the cruizes they will be obliged to make to different ports of Scotland and Ireland, or elsewhere.

That the Sieur Carron, now Lieutenant of a frigate, whose presence will be necessary, be appointed to serve on board of one of these ships, without telling him any thing of the real design, and without giving him orders to embark till every thing shall be ready ; that his departure may not beget any suspicion, either at St. Germain, where he now is, or at Dunkirk, where his voyages to Scotland are known.

A P R I-

A PRIVATE
M E M O R I A L

Sent from ENGLAND by a Well-wisher to

T H E K * * * .

Concerning the Affairs of ENGLAND. 1708.

ENGLAND seemed to be fully resolved upon peace, before the arrival of Lord Marlborough. The Whigs, offended in the person of Lord Wharton their head, were in the same disposition. It is assured, that Lord Wharton has been to pay a visit to the Earl of Nottingham, head of the Anglicans, with a view to their joining, in order to lessen the authority of the Lords Marlborough and Godolphin.

This is publickly talked of in London, and more than one, nay more than an hundred have mentioned it to me.

The Lords Marlborough and Godolphin, who, for particular reasons, are against a peace, employ every means to prevent its being made. The chief reason that they oppose to those who desire it, and
O these

these are very numerous, is, that they pretend, and give out, that France offered last year to cede Spain and the Indies : and, as they do not see things now in the same disposition, they endeavour to persuade people that the war must be continued, to bring again upon the carpet Spain, which is all that England wishes, and, perhaps, the only hope that has hitherto made her furnish whatever money has been desired.

At the opening of the parliament, every thing looked very much like war. But there is great reason to believe that all that the house of Commons did, at the beginning of the sessions, was, only to hinder the Dutch, or some others of the allies, from separating from the general interest, to think of their private advantage, as soon as they should see in the parliament of England any misunderstanding, or thought of peace : and it is observable, that the first steps were not attended with any great consequences. Vast preparations were talked of for the ensuing campaign, together with an augmentation of troops, and a resolution to furnish whatever money was necessary : and yet it has not appeared that any thing was really intended to be done. In regard to the subsidies, all that the house of Commons had yet done, was, to take into consideration the land-tax and the malt-tax, the produce of which would be necessary, not only this year, but several others, even though the war should be ended this winter. As to the rest of the money that must be raised, the parliament deferred mentioning it from one sitting to another, and nothing had been yet done in it.

The

The land-tax and malt bills were not entirely settled till the time of my being in London, the three last days of this month : and other matters had not yet been talked of.

All the first sittings of the parliament have been spent in examining directly or indirectly the conduct of those who govern the house of Commons, and in presenting petitions upon petitions for a general and exact account of all that had been done by sea, and in Spain. By this examination, the parliament, on one hand, expects to clear the privy council and the admiralty. On the other, Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin say, that the affairs of Spain have been neglected, the money having been applied to other uses, which the nation looks upon as much less important. The merchants, who, till then, had seemed the most desirous of continuing the war, on a sudden changed their minds, on account of the great losses they have had during this war, and particularly last year. They have exclaimed the loudest of all against the government, and have been the most incensed against Mr. Churchill, the Duke of Marlborough's brother, because, say they, all that is done in the admiralty is by his advice.

The House of Lords, instead of the customary address of thanks to the Queen for her first speech (this address of thanks was not yet made when I was in London) was wholly taken up with making speeches, hotter than can be expressed, setting forth, and examining into, the deplorable state of the nation, the ruin of the people and nobility in the country, and the destruction of trade, which disables the merchants from contributing as they had done hitherto. Lord Wharton said, that *mo-*

ney was become invisible in England. These were his very words. The other Lords who spoke, said things not less strong.

The Anglicans, who had absented themselves from the parliament in the beginning, and who staid in the country, to render the contrary party, in some measure, answerable for what should be done, and, at the same time, to make it appear odious, were, on a sudden, warned by their chiefs to repair to London, because some very important affairs were to come under consideration after Christmas.

If, without being thoroughly informed of what passes in the council of England, one might trust to one's own judgment and penetration, there would seem to be room to surmise that peace is very seriously thought of, though the continuing of the war is more strongly talked of than ever. One might even think that the parliament had resolved to give the time necessary for secret negotiations, before they would declare their private subjects of dissatisfaction. One might also judge that we are on the eve of seeing great dissensions break out in the parliament, and between the Government and the Parliament.

The reason which would make one judge that peace is thought of, is, the small hope that England must now have of ever getting Spain, or even of being able to continue the war there, in the present situation of her affairs in that country, without a very great disadvantage and an immense expence. To this reason may be added, the small probability of her being able to find money for this expence.

Hitherto

Hitherto it does not appear that any expedients can be found for raising the surplus of what will be wanted for carrying on the war, over and above the land tax and malt-tax, which will produce only two millions *sterling*, except the three following:

First, An offer, which the Bank of England makes, to lend the government, as it did last year, two millions *sterling*.

Secondly, An offer, which the East India company makes, to lend nearly the same sum of two millions *sterling*, on condition that the sale of India goods be allowed in England.

Thirdly, A new tax upon salt, which may amount to about the same sum of two millions *sterling*.

The Bank is able to lend the two millions: but the difficulty is to find a security for the payment of the interest and principal of this money, all the funds in England being mortgaged, ever since last year, for ninety years, except part of the malt, and part of the land-tax. It is not probable that the nation will ever consent to mortgage the land-tax.

As to the offer of the East-India company, it is so contrary to the trade of England, and the merchants have always opposed it so strongly in times of peace, and when their trade flourished most, that there is no likelihood it will ever be agreed to when their trade is in so bad a situation.

To make the salt-tax produce the sum that is talked of, that commodity must be raised to so

high a price as would scarcely be relished by the nation.

A tax upon coal has likewise been talked of: but it would produce very little.

Besides the above reasons, which would induce me to imagine that a peace is thought of, it is well known, that, in September last, Lord Portland was charged by the Dutch to declare, that they could not carry on the war any longer.

The reasons which seem to foretel dissensions in the parliament, and against the government, are,

The animosity of Lord Wharton and of the Whigs, who had always been of the court-party, and who now seem strongly against it.

Besides, the parliament, every time it meets, insists on knowing what has been done this campaign by sea and by land; demands copies of all the orders that have been given, of the commissions that have been made out, of the letters that have been written to the admirals and generals, of their answers to them; and, in short, will be thoroughly informed of all the designs and operations of the last campaign. Things have been carried so far as to want to know the particular pensions which the Queen pays out of her privy-purse. At the same time London was filled with bitter libels and other insolent writings.

The parliament demanded an exact account of the number of soldiers in each army, of the number of seamen that were on board each ship, and of the number of officers present or absent, not only at
such

such times as they seemed most necessary, but also during the whole course of the campaign : and it appears that these enquiries, and particularly those relating to the seamen, are occasioned by a suspicion the nation has, that their ships have not been armed so well as they ought to have been ; and that each ship, not having had its complement of men, the money must have been applied to other uses, or sunk by some particular persons.

All the members of the parliament, who had certain new places given them by the court, were turned out of the house. But first it was left to their option to chuse, either to resign their places or their seats. Some having chosen the former, in order to be reinstated in the parliament, they were, nevertheless, turned out, as men more attached to the interests of the court, than to those of the nation.

It is to be observed, that the opinions which are entertained in England, concerning the differences that may happen, concerning the writings of the parliament against the government, and concerning the animosities of private persons, are things which may alter from one moment to another, through particular interests, by satisfying the heads of the parties, or for other reasons. An exact account can, therefore, be given only of the present situation of affairs, with such conjectures thereon as result from the knowledge one may have, or the informations one may receive.

By the end of January, more particular and more positive accounts are to be received from a person, who is to be well informed. They shall be communicated immediately.

Mr. Cadogan's journey to Nivelles, for the exchange, makes some people think, on account of his being vested with the character of Envoy to the States of Holland, and also by reason of the great confidence which Lord Marlborough has in him, that he may possibly make some overture of peace, or, at least, see whether it will not be proposed to him.

If one might be permitted to offer one's opinion concerning the making of a peace, it would be, that France should not make any overtures to that end, but hear coolly those that may be proposed, without rejecting them, lest those of the government of England, who are for war, not knowing any longer what means to devise, in order to continue it, should make use of France's refusing to hearken to terms, to spirit up the nation, and thereby get the war continued a year longer, which is certainly the most that England can do, even by compleating her ruin.

If the war should be continued, nothing ever can be done more toilsome to England, than to carry it on in the same manner as was practised last campaign, by having separate squadrons, and a great number of privateers in the channel to distress her trade. The losses of the merchants, and their complaints in consequence thereof, cannot be expressed. They make no difficulty of saying publicly, that the losses they have suffered in the course of this war, and particularly this year, are entirely owing to the mismanagement of the admiralty and the government. As to the war by land, England cares, in reality, very little for any but that of Spain. Every bad news from thence occasions a general dismay.

One

One might have room to think, that some steps have been taken towards a peace, but without any effect.

This may be depended on, that Lord Godolphin's steps are so secret, that it would be no great wonder if he should be strongly resolved on peace, at the very time that he talks most of war.

The public talk of London is about the war; that peace never will be made without having Spain and the Indies; and that there is no sort of thought of making it now, chiefly on account of the offers, they say, France made last campaign. A person, who might be well informed, but who certainly did not tell me all he knew, talked to me somewhat differently. He told me, that he believed England could easily make this campaign, and that she would make it. One might, perhaps, have judged that he thought she would not make it.

During three days stay at London, the inquiries into the conduct of the admiralty were not less warm than before. On the contrary, the house of Commons demanded a sight of all the Prince's papers, of all the commissions of his giving, and even the whole account of the money that has passed through his hands. It must be owned that he is strangely treated by the house of Commons.

In the house of Lords, the Queen spoke, and exhorted strongly to war, saying, that those of the Lords, who should be most strenuous for it, should be those to whom she would grant her favours. Some of the Lords answered this in such a manner as tended rather to excite laughter, than to
come

come to the point. Lord Marlborough said, the Queen had written to the Emperor, to desire that Prince Eugene might go to Spain. Lord Peterborough said a great deal about the mismanagement of the affairs of Spain, and spoke greatly against Lord Galway.

The House of Commons had not made any progress in regard to the subsidies, and the parliament was soon to be adjourned for a fortnight or three weeks.

The speeches and schemes of Colonel Miremont scarcely deserve to be mentioned. No regard is paid to them in this country. I heard part of a long conversation, which he had with Monsieur de Maffey, Envoy from Savoy, in which he proposed to him a scheme for entering France, by the country of Vaux, with 6000 refugees. But all that he says is looked upon as a dream.

Some French and Roman Catholic merchants have talked to me, more than the others, concerning the distress and dissatisfaction of the trading part of the nation. From a more minute detail, into which I entered with a man, whose traffic consists in selling cakes, and such like things, for the country people, chiefly about Christmas, which is properly the carnival of this country; one might conclude, that the peasants are exceedingly distressed. His business has decreased considerably every year, and this year he does not sell any thing. Yet the peasants about London are by far the richest of all the country.

It was reported that Admiral Leech, who is read, to sail from Portsmouth, was to go with three
and

and twenty ships of war to meet the galleons. Most probably there is no foundation for this.

I was told at Dover, that he had but ten or twelve ships, and that he was destined to Lisbon. He was not sailed on the 4th of January, when I left Dover.

It seemed to me at Ostend, in a conversation with Monfr. de Spar, that the Dutch kept an eye upon Mr. Cadogan's journey to Nivelles, and were not without some suspicions upon that account. As far as I could judge, it likewise seemed to me that the motions at Nimeguen and Gueldres occasioned some uneasiness.

A NEW

and I was told that it was to meet the witnesses. I was
probably there for the

I was told at Dover, that he had one of twelve
children, and that he was destined to London. He
was not killed on the 4th of January, when I left
Dover.

It seemed to me at Oxford, in a conversation with
Mr. Cadogan, that the French kept an eye upon
him. Cadogan's journey to Berlin, and more
not without some suspicion upon that account. As

NEW SCHEME

the question of the English and the English
have been in the hands of the English in relation to

SCOTLAND.

Given to
THE
K

The 1st of January 1790.

A NEW

A
NEW SCHEME
In relation to
SCOTLAND.

Given to

T H E K * * *,

The 1st of JANUARY, 1709.

REVOLUTIONS

A

NEW SCHEME

SCOTLAND

In relation to

SCOTLAND

IRELAND

Given to

In the Year 1700

THE K

THE 10th of JANUARY, 1700.

which the country, elated by noheard of advantages
and which would be thought not only profitable
but also a great one, and the most profitable
from any other source, and the most profitable
from any other source, and the most profitable

We have seen the most profitable source of revenue
the most profitable source of revenue, and the most profitable

REVOLUTIONS
OF
SCOTLAND
AND
IRELAND,

In the Year 1709.

IF ever there was a conjuncture that required the most serious study how to put an happy end to a most fatal war, it certainly is the present, in which the enemy, elated by unheard of advantages they have gained, and animated more than ever against France, menace things one dares not repeat, and which would be thought not only impracticable, but even mad, if their so little expected success for some years past, did not give room to fear the worst from an implacable and enraged enemy.

We have seen his most Christian Majesty carry on the war so many years, particularly, during the
reign

reign of Charles II. and the four years that the late King James sat peaceably upon the throne, against the united force of the whole house of Austria, the Dutch, and all the princes of Germany, with such superiority, that his enemies have always been forced to accept of such terms of peace as he has thought proper to prescribe.

If we examine to what is owing the astonishing change we now see, we shall find no other cause for it, but the junction of Great-Britain to the league of Austria; for it proceeds not only from the number of their ships, but still more from that of their land forces, and from the immense sums which the English have contributed, as much as all the other confederates together, to support the war. This is so true, that during the two years that the Prince of Orange was obliged to make use of the English troops to reduce Ireland, France always maintained her wonted superiority.

It is therefore evident, that of all the expedients that can be proposed to re-establish the affairs of France, the most effectual would be to make a powerful diversion in Great-Britain. It may be said in general, that there is not a more natural way to embarrass an enemy than to carry the war into his country. The King of Sweden pursued King Augustus for four years, in Poland, always with advantage, but yet without being able to reduce him. He altered his plan, marched into Saxony with his army; and though King Augustus had then gained a considerable victory over a body of Swedish troops, yet this Prince, victorious as he was, was obliged, in less than three months, to abandon Poland, to give the King of Sweden *carte blanche*, and to submit

mit to all the hardships he thought proper to impose upon him.

If the most Christian King will but be pleased to send, not a great army as the King of Sweden did, but only as many troops as would be necessary to defend a good fortified town, with his Br— M— into Scotland, one may boldly prophecy that his expedition will not have less effect than that of the King of Sweden. This Prince had not any just pretensions to Saxony; there were not any malecontents in it against King Augustus; nor had he any friends or partisans who invited him thither. But the K— of Great-Britain will find all these advantages in Scotland, which will prove to him a stronger support, than a great army would be in a country filled intirely with enemies.

It seems therefore clear, that, to make a powerful diversion in Great-Britain, his Br— M— must not be sent into Scotland accompanied in the manner which his faithful subjects of that country demand: and to give this proposition its full degree of evidence, it is sufficient to shew, that the Scots are ready to declare for the K—, as soon as he shall land among them with the troops and other things which they propose; and that the declaration of Scotland will soon be followed by a revolution in England and Ireland.

In order to form a right and sure judgment of the present disposition of Scotland to declare in favour of his Br— M—; it will be right to consider what the disposition of the people of that country was in the month of March last, at the time of the last expedition, and what alterations have happened since.

It is a certain and well-known fact, that the greatest and most considerable part of that kingdom, was ready to declare for his Br— M—— as soon as ever he should land there; and the council and ministers of the Princess Anne, in Scotland, were so convinced of it, that they had already taken measures to return to England as soon as they should hear of his landing. Nor is this to be wondered at. The Scots begun, even then, to feel that the Union with England, which they had been told would be productive of so many advantages to them, was, in fact, only a specious pretence to subject them intirely to England; and that the English, instead of looking upon them as their associates, exercised acts of sovereignty over them, which completed the re-union of all the different parties of Scotland in the common interest, and made them all see that the welfare and liberty of the kingdom depended solely upon their restoring their lawful K— to the throne of his ancestors; and that they had no other step to take, but to venture their lives and fortunes to restore him.

With regard to the alterations in Scotland since the last expedition, it appears plainly, that all that has happened there since that time contributes to facilitate his return, and to incense the people more and more.

In the first place. There are much fewer regular troops in Scotland now, than there was at the time of the last expedition.

Secondly. The Scots have been well informed of the great earnestness which his B—— M—— expressed in that expedition, to run any hazard to land
among

among them ; which has gained him the hearts of all, more than ever.

Thirdly. The Scots have been since much worse treated by the English than before. Many of their nobility have been dragged into the prisons of England, upon bare suspicions, contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

Fourthly. The resolution taken by the English, to deprive all the Lords of their right of vassalage, or superiority which the laws of the Kingdom give them over their vassals, touches them in the most sensible part ; the ancient nobility of Scotland being infinitely more considerable by the number and dependance of their vassals, than by their riches.

Fifthly. By building forts in several parts of Scotland, for English garrisons ; totally to destroy what remains of their liberty, and of the ancient laws of the Kingdom, by subjecting them to the arbitrary power of the parliament.

Besides all this, we have a very recent proof of the disposition of the Scots, who appeared publickly, with their vassals, in arms, in favour of the K—, when he was upon the coast of Scotland. There were two thousand witnesses of the fact, which was notorious and public. The court, wanting to make an example to terrify others of the same party, ordered these gentlemen to be tried, not in the least doubting of getting them condemned. Yet, though every precaution was taken not to miscarry therein, not a single witness could be made to appear against them, and the judges unanimously discharged them, and declared them innocent.

But the late speech of the Princess Anne to her parliament, will make the Scots see plainly, that they will no longer enjoy that liberty which is of so great advantage to them in all criminal suits, unless they restore their lawful K—. As they are extremely jealous of their laws, they stipulated expressly in the treaty of Union, that all their laws should always remain in full force. But to deprive them of that advantage, the Princess Anne has just now recommended to her parliament, to establish an uniformity between the laws of the two kingdoms, particularly in criminal proceedings; the meaning of which is to abolish the laws of Scotland, and oblige the Scots to submit to those of England, by which means they will have their old enemies the English for their judges, in all matters wherein their lives will be at stake. This must certainly drive the Scots quite to despair, when they shall see their ancient laws, and all that is dearest to them, subjected to the arbitrary power of the parliament of England, without being able to receive any redress from the small number of deputies of their own country; because the English admit but sixteen Scots Peers into the House of Lords, where they have two hundred of their own nation; and only forty-five Scots representatives in the House of Commons, where they themselves have upwards of five hundred. The Scots will, consequently, have no sort of weight in either of these assemblies, where every thing is determined by the majority of votes.

After all, even if one had not the letters and signatures which have been received from the principal Lords of that country; can any doubt be made of the disposition of the Scots for a general insurrection, the moment their lawful K—— shall appear
among

among them with the means necessary to back the desires of the nation?

And this insurrection happening in Scotland, it can as little be doubted but that the same confusion which was ready to break out in England when his Br— M— was upon those coasts last spring, will certainly happen again, and that more effectually, upon the first news of such an insurrection. It is well known that England subsists and carries on the war merely by the credit of the bills of the Exchequer, and of the Bank of London: and it is a certain fact, acknowledged even by the enemies themselves, that upon the bare report of the landing of his M——, all those whose money lay in either of those places, ran in such crowds to draw it out, that if the K— had been able to land in fact within a few days of that time, the then government would have been totally overthrown. This appears, not only from private letters from that country, but the Dutch themselves have acknowledged it in their printed papers, in which they impute the cause of this disorder to the malecontents; which proves the fact, and shews that his Br—— M—— has friends in that country; and that alone is sufficient to demonstrate the confusion into which an insurrection in Scotland would throw England. Not to speak of the friends which his Br— M—— has in this last mentioned kingdom, nor of the opposite parties there which never were so animated against each other as they are at this very time; a circumstance which tells us, that one of the parties would want no other inducement to declare for the K—, than because the contrary party would be attached to the government.

As to Ireland, its disposition is permanent, and always the same, founded on its interest, liberty, and religion. It is well known by the great number of bishops, priests, and religious, who have been obliged to take refuge in France, how much religion is oppressed in Ireland; almost all the ancient families are stripped of their estates; no catholic is allowed to hold any employment, civil, or military, and all of them are disarmed. Yet it is well known, that there are in that kingdom at least six Catholics for one Protestant; and one may easily judge by the valour and irreproachable conduct of the Irish regiments which serve in France, what their countrymen would be capable of doing at home, if they had arms. In short, one may boldly say, that there is not in nature any one motive that can induce a man to espouse any particular cause or party, which the Irish Catholics have not, to take that of their lawful K——.

It is therefore evident from all that has been said, that it cannot reasonably be doubted, but that if his Br——— M——— lands in Scotland with the troops and other things necessary, Scotland will declare for him, and this declaration will inevitably be followed by a revolution in England and Ireland, which would make so powerful a diversion, that the league of the confederates would necessarily fall in pieces at the same time, and France would regain her ancient superiority.

It remains therefore to consider what number of troops, and what other things are necessary for this expedition: that of the Scots themselves who are upon the spot, and who know the state and disposition of the whole country, the most zealous, who wish, from interest as well as inclination, the restoration

ration of the K----, have always demanded fewer troops than the others ; but even they, when pressed by letters and messages from his Br----- M----- to consider the difficulty of transporting troops, and being for that reason desired to ask for no more than they believed absolutely necessary, have all answered, that there must be at least 8000 men, a good number of well-made and tried arms, with cannon, ammunition, and a certain sum of money ; that they were persuaded this number of troops would be sufficient ; but that they thought themselves obliged to declare to his M-----, that a smaller number would not do.

For, notwithstanding all the good dispositions of the Scots in general, the government is certainly in the hands of creatures of the Court. They are masters of all the castles and fortresses of the country, and of all the regular troops, which, though less numerous than heretofore, are still sufficient to hinder the friends of the K---- from assembling, or from joining him, unless his M----- has a good number of troops with him at the time of his landing. Besides, the principal persons among those of the nobility and gentry who are friends to the K---, have been extreamly ill-treated by the government since the last expedition, and would not expose themselves a second time to the hazard of being intirely ruined, if they did not see a probability of success. They have often declared, that the number of troops which they demanded, was absolutely necessary for the success of the enterprize ; and if the K--- should come with a smaller number, they would think their advice slighted, and would, too probably, stay at their own homes, till they should see what turn affairs were likely to take ; and the consequence of that might be fatal.

But what ought absolutely to determine his B---- M----- not to go to Scotland with a small number of troops, is the following answer lately received from the Sieur Ferguson, who was sent into that country last May, on purpose to know whether the Highlanders, who have always expressed the greatest inclination of any for the K—, and who run the least hazard by an insurrection, would not take up arms, and declare for their K—, if he should come among them with only four or five hundred men, who should be followed by a much greater number, which his most Christian Majesty would send him afterwards. Having seen, says he, several of the K—'s faithful subjects in the Lowlands, and in the Highlands, they have all in general rejected the proposal I was charged with, and do not think the thing at all practicable that way. I found them every where well disposed in other respects, and do not in the least doubt of success, provided the K— comes well accompanied.

The Scots demand also, that all the Irish be of the number of the troops that shall be sent them, because they speak their language, and are accustomed to their hard way of living; and because each regiment of Irish may be doubled by another regiment raised in the country, by draughting out of each company twenty men, which would be replaced by the same number of new recruits: and as the Irish regiments will not make up the full number that is demanded, it would be right to add to them Germans, because they are used to live out of their own country, are inured to hardships and fatigue, and will give less umbrage to the English. Spaniards may also be added, on account of the conveniency of their being so near neighbours, in case the embarkation be made in their country.

It

It is likewise necessary that there be among this number, horsemen, or dragoons, dismounted, with saddles and other accoutrements, for the horses that will be found in the country.

And as the choice of a General agreeable to the nation is of great importance, and may contribute much to the success of this enterprize, it is thought necessary to represent, that he must be a person whose name and reputation are established and well-known, of great quality, affable, and who knows how to suit himself to the humour and manners of the Scots, who are naturally somewhat proud, and will not easily bear an haughty overbearing temper in a General. He should likewise be a man fertile in resources, skilled in the art of war, and of a robust constitution to endure fatigue.

This is the substance of the demands of the Scots, which they think absolutely necessary for the success of the enterprize. Therefore to endeavour to retrench any thing, especially in the number and quality of the troops, would be evidently hazarding the loss of all; which would certainly be attended with dreadful consequences.

As to the transporting of the troops and other necessities, in which the greatest difficulty consists, those who are experienced in sea-affairs are the best, or rather the only judges of what relates to this article. If his most Christian Majesty thinks this expedition of such importance to France, as to look upon it in the light of a capital affair, he will certainly find in his own kingdom, sea-officers capable of executing it.

The

The port of Dunkirk would be the best for the embarkation, on account of the vicinity of the troops, and because the passage is shortest from thence to Scotland, if the secret could be kept there. But all that is done at Dunkirk is known the next day at Ostend, and the English are too near, and consequently too able to thwart the design if they know it.

Brest would, for this last reason, be a fitter place, if the troops were not so distant from that port. The enemy could not easily hinder the ships from getting out from thence, nor from executing their orders, even though they should be informed of their design, as experience has shewn in the war in Ireland.

It may be right to examine also, whether Port-Passage, near Fontarabia, would not be a proper place for the embarkation. In this case, the troops which serve now in that country, might be shipped off, under pretence of bringing them back to France, in order to send them into Spain. The King of Great Britain might repair thither under the same pretence, and his being at that distance from his kingdoms might hide his design.

There will always be found at Bourdeaux and Bayonne more transports than will be wanted. The enemy, who have practised the same method for twenty years past, still pursue it, because it is certain that a ship of war, which is embarrassed with soldiers and ammunition, is not fit either to attack another, or to defend itself, because it then sails heavily, and loses the use of some of its guns. The ships destined to convoy the transports may be fitted out at Rochefort; and if there should be in
France

France any Scottish ships from Glasgow, Aire, Kircudbright, and other ports on the western coast of Scotland, they should be detained under some pretence or other, because their sailors would be good pilots.

The landing of the troops will, in some measure, depend upon the place of their embarkation; for if they are embarked at Dunkirk, they may be landed, either at Hull, at the mouth of the river Humber, to march from thence into Scotland, through the North of England, where horses enough will be found, or at another port on the eastern coast of Scotland. The port of Leith, in the Firth of Edinburgh, is the nearest and best: and if the landing cannot be effected there, there are several other places upon this coast, well known to seamen, from this gulph on to Cromarty and Inverness, where it will be easy to land in case the embarkation be made at Brest, or at Port-Passage. This descent will be made upon the western coast of Scotland, between Kircudbright and Glasgow at the mouth of the Clyde; and as it will be necessary to sail pretty near the coast of Ireland, in order to go thither, some Irish officers may be landed with arms, to enable the inhabitants of that country to rise.

If a descent was intended to be made in England, twice or three times as many troops as are now demanded, might be transported with the same ease; and this would render the affair more certain, and the success much more speedy.

All that remains to be added, is, that how desirous soever the K— of Great Britain may be to second the desires and good dispositions of his faithful subjects of Scotland, he never would have thought
of

of proposing this expedition in the present conjuncture, if he had not chiefly in view the great advantage which France may reap from it, and if he was not absolutely persuaded that it is the best and surest way for her to re-establish her affairs.

To his most Christian Majesty it is left to judge of what is here proposed, and with his consummate prudence, to determine what may be best for his own interest, independent of that of his Br—
M—.

EXPLA-

EXPLANATION

OF

Mr. MACLEAN'S

ENTERPRIZE:

By Way of Objection and Answer.

THIS

MEMORIAL

Was given by

The K— of ENGLAND

(The Chevalier de St. GEORGE)

TO

The Most CHRISTIAN KING.

EXPLANATION

OF THE

M. A. C. E. A. N.

ENTRANCE

By Way of Objection and Answer.

OBJECT I.

THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

OF THE

EXPLANATION

OF

Mr. MACLEAN'S

ENTERPRIZE.

OBJECT. I.

ANSWER.

THERE is so much contradiction and disagreement in the proposals which have been drawn up concerning the affairs of Scotland, so much roguery and deceit, so much passion and weakness on both sides of the question, that it is not to be wondered at if nothing has yet been determined upon that subject. Some, and even the greatest, of your Lords, do not agree in their demands. Sometimes they want one thing,

WE know full well that several rogues and interested men have, through a refined policy of the English, been too much concerned in our otherwise well-concerted affairs.

The greatest of our Lords are divided by their interests. Mistrust and jealousy heighten that division. The good patriots quarrel with those who favour the English faction. But though the greatest part of

thing, and sometimes another. Mr. Maclean is the only person who abides by what he first said, namely, that the revolt must be begun by a small enterprize, of which he is desirous to have the management. For this the others look upon him as a visionary, without being at the trouble of considering his reasons. How can we determine this dispute, but by saying, If the Scots are inclined to shake off the English yoke, will they do it as the Hungarians shook off theirs?

OBJECT. II.

We are persuaded that your Highlanders are easily induced to take up arms. But they cannot be depended upon: and Mr. Maclean owns they could not do any thing after the death of Lord Dundee.

O B.

of our Lords, and almost all the lesser nobility, are well disposed for a revolution, they are only individuals, without leaders. Not one is found bold enough to begin the revolt. A Ragotzki is sought for, in vain. Those who have the power to do it, will not yet venture their fortunes, without such assurances as cannot be given them. Those who have the best will, have not the power. A good beginning will bring them all into action. Mr. Maclean's enterprize will do it effectually, by giving every one pretences and opportunities to take up arms.

ANSWER.

Mr. Maclean must know what the people of his country, in which he has made several campaigns, can do. He has executed bolder and more perilous enterprizes than that which is now in question. Lord Dundee put

put himself hastily at the head of two thousand Highlanders, to meet General Mackay, and marched upwards of forty miles the evening before the battle. Mr. Maclean was there, at the head of his regiment. Mackay's army was cut in pieces, though he had five thousand men, all regulars, drawn out of the old regiments of the army in Holland. But after the death of Lord Dundee, we had not the means of pursuing the advantages of our victory. We had no money, no regular troops, no body of forces formed but in an hurry, and without discipline, without Generals, and without officers of experience: no magazine, no provisions in an almost barren and desert country, where the whole nation was combined against us. Yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, we continued the war three years, which cost the Prince of Orange and the nation immense sums. Mr. Maclean is very able to give the reasons

sons why we could not do any thing then. He has studied the causes of it, and has laboured for fifteen years past to find out the remedy ; he is therefore the fittest person to be employed. Our enemies allow, that if we were disciplined, and knew how to form ourselves into regular bodies, no troops in the world would be able to resist us.

A N S W E R.

He is sure of finding there many of his relations and friends, cadets of ancient families, and other gentlemen who have no fortunes, with their followers, to the amount of about three thousand men. Of this, he has repeated assurances from them. Nor will the chieftains be hurt thereby. On the contrary, they will be the better enabled to take their measures with the rest of the nation. Mr. Maclean purposes to form out of them a select body of troops, well disciplined, and well provided with all things necessary to

OBJECT. III.

Mr. Maclean has served in France these fifteen years, and is, I believe, a good officer. But as he is out of his own country, what assurance has he of being followed and obeyed, he not being a chieftain ?

to act by sea and by land ; which has never yet been seen in that country. These men will not be afraid to make war upon the Prince of Orange, supported by the whole combined nation : whereas those that made it against their lawful K——, were only an handful of Highlanders, who had nothing but their courage, without any assistance, or knowledge of war. A regular body of such men as are here proposed, will be extremely formidable, now that we shall have whatever is necessary for action, and that the whole nation is well disposed in favour of our designs.

A N S W E R.

OBJECT. IV.
If such great things can be done in that country with so few men, whence comes it that your Lords are so unwilling to stir ? Have you none but Mr. Maclean, capable of conducting an affair of so great consequence ? Do you think it becoming his Majesty's wisdom so lightly to trust the reputation of his arms ?

There are Lords more capable of ruining an affair, than of managing it properly. The title of Lord does not give military science. Those who are most capable of it, know not how to set about making war in a country so different in all respects from the rest of Europe. Besides inaccessible mountains, and several great difficulties

arising from the climate, it has many islands, arms of the sea, and bogs, which no strangers can tell how to pass. The temper, dress, and way of living of the inhabitants, are suited to the nature of the country, and cannot be adopted by foreigners. Their manner of making expeditions by sea or by land, gives them a very great superiority; though they neither understand the art of war, nor have any experienced officers. The barrenness of their country occasions so many difficulties in respect of provisions, that all the officers who have been sent thither, glad of a pretence to cover their bad success, have accused the Highlanders of not being fit for war.

Mr. Maclean, who knows both the difficulties and the remedies, will be very glad to see another, more capable than himself, undertake the direction and command. He promises faithfully to obey him, and to give him all the assist-

assistance in his power. He mentioned this three years ago to the Q— of England, and named Mr. Hamilton, as the fittest person to conduct the troops that there were then thoughts of sending into Scotland. For Mr. Maclean undertakes nothing more than effectually to begin the revolt, and to form a body of troops more capable than the present ones may be of acting and of going any where, either in Scotland or Ireland, according to the orders of those who shall be named to command the armies and shires. But as the revolt ought to begin with the Highlanders, and the only one of that nation now in France is Mr. Maclean, he must be the best qualified for that office : especially as he has studied what is proper to be done. His family is one of the most powerful and most warlike of the country, and will furnish him five hundred men, as it has already done several times.

As

As to what concerns the reputation of his Majesty's arms, considering the smallness of our enterprize, it is easy to answer that objection; since the revolt is to be begun by the people of the country, under pretence of several grievances, which will be allowed by every one; and as the Irish merchants and other friends are to be supposed to have supplied us with arms. The Earl of Argyle set us just such an example, when the late King James ascended the throne. His Majesty was then cherished and beloved by his people, and absolute master of his three kingdoms. The Earl of Argyle, then an exile in Holland, found assistance there. He had the boldness to embark on board of two small ships, with only ten of his friends and sixty soldiers. He landed in our isles, and though all his neighbours were his enemies, he got together three thousand men. He was no warrior: but yet he cut out
 suf-

sufficient work for five ships of war and the King's whole army during a campaign, which cost the King and the nation immense sums. Our enterprize will be better concerted, for we have numbers of nobility, and of good officers. The perplexity into which it will throw the English, is an additional motive to encourage Mr. Maclean to prosecute his enterprize : and though it will be judged that France is secretly at the bottom of it, yet even that will do us good : for at the same time that it will raise our courage, it will weaken the English, who will be obliged to neglect either their expeditions beyond sea, or the revolt at home. For our parts, ten thousand English in our country will give us no uneasiness.

OBJECT. V.

Supposing your four thousand men to be a formidable force among your mountains, and that

ANSWER.

It is reasonable to believe that the English will endeavour to attack our posts upon the sea-side,

that neither the English nor the rest of the Scots can, or think it worth their while to make war upon you, what service will you be then of to the King?

side, because we may from thence greatly annoy their trade. But, however that may be, we shall be able to animate a revolt in several places, and to subsist in spite of all opposition. This is all that Mr. Maclean promises. The minister well knows what consequences may be drawn from thence in favour of a general revolt, and of a powerful diversion.

OBJECT. VI.

The armament which Mr. Maclean proposes will cost the King money, besides the risk of the Scotch transports. Is it not reasonable to have some good assurance of success, before it be granted?

ANSWER.

The King's money, as well as the other things necessary for the expedition, will be in the hands of a treasurer or commissary of his Majesty's own appointing, and will be guarded by two hundred French grenadiers in an impregnable post. The measures for embarking in France, and for landing in our islands, will be taken with such certainty, that there will be no sort of danger from the enemy. But, that Mr. Maclean's bare word may not be relied on (though he has given suf-

sufficient proofs of his zeal for France, where he leaves his wife and children) he is content to embark immediately on board of a frigate or privateer, with any person that shall be appointed to go with him, to shew that person the posts and coasts, and to confer with some of the people of the country, in his presence, to shew the solidity of all that he advances.

OBJECT. VII.

Let us suppose again that Mr. Maclean is arrived with his armament in the islands, and that he has got together four thousand men in an inaccessible country: are we to believe that all the other shires will likewise take up arms, and that the whole nation will do the same?

ANSWER.

As all military enterprises depend upon the blessing of heaven, justice, and good conduct, Mr. Maclean promises only to make the most he can of the opportunities that may offer in Ireland and in Scotland. The disposition of both those kingdoms for a revolt is so well known, that the consequences may be easily foreseen from the time of the armament's arriving there. The first will be, its disconcerting the transmarine expeditions of the English.

R

O B.

OBJECT. VIII.

ANSWER.

Let us suppose again, that the shires, next to the Highlands, will immediately take up arms, and that the inferior nobility, and the most spirited of your Lords, will oblige the others to declare themselves; that the dispossessed Episcopalians will join them, and that they will make the public good, and the welfare of the nation, their plea for gaining over the presbyterians, and for demanding a free parliament: the Scots will then do nothing without the assistance of France, and will want her to favour the revolt in Ireland, where they and the Irish Catholics together, will easily make themselves masters of the country, as is said.

OBJECT. IX.

ANSWER.

If it should be thought proper to employ Mr. Maclean to join the Irish officers, in order to raise the forces in question, how would he be able to trans-

Mr. Maclean does not presume to talk in so high a stile. That belongs to those who are the rulers of states. It is hard to say what may be the events of a civil war. It is pretty certain that if the Irish had a sufficient force to protect their Catholic counties, and give them time to arm and assemble, they would send thirty thousand men into the field. The Bishop of Waterford and Colonel Dillon, who act in concert with Mr. Maclean, will answer for this fact. They are authorised by their countrymen so to do.

Mr. Maclean engages to have in readiness a sufficient number of ships to transport them. The province of Connaught, in which there is the great-

transport their four thousand men, after the French ships should be gone?

greatest number of Catholics, is near at hand.

It is easy to settle what concerns the transports to Scotland, the time of embarking, and the measures for securing a safe passage.

It will also be easy to explain how our armament will pursue its destination in spite of the enemy's ships, even though they should arrive as soon as we: how our squadron may retire from our seas without danger: how we shall find ships enough of our own country to carry us any where; and how we shall secure them.

It is evidently his Majesty's interest, as well as that of the K. of England, to do all that is possible to foment a civil war in Scotland.

Since the bare report of the last enterprize had already produced such an effect in England, that every one was in a hurry to draw his money out of the public funds, the Princess of Denmark would have found it very difficult to support Guyenne, if things had continued a little longer in that situation: at least it is certain, that, far from being able to send any succours to the allies, she would have been obliged to recall most of her troops for her own defence.

The

The signatures of the principal Scottish Lords are a manifest proof of their fidelity : nor have they given any room to doubt it, though the public may, perhaps, think otherwise ; not knowing that the King had sent them orders not to undertake any thing till the arrival and landing of the K. of England ; and, above all, to keep the secret preferably to all other considerations.

The K. of England, far from being discouraged by this last attempt, is but the more animated by it, and is resolved never to spare his own person, but stir heaven and earth for the recovery of his dominions.

In this view he purposes immediately to send a person to the Highlands of Scotland, with the following instructions.

If he finds them in arms, to assure them, that his B. M——y will speedily come, and put himself at their head, and bring them ammunition of war, and money. If they are not in arms, he is to propose to them to rise, with the like assurance, that the K. of England is quite ready to join them in person, and that his most Christian Majesty will assist them with troops, as soon after as they can be sent with safety.

In short, to know of the Scots what they can do, and what they desire the most Christian King to do for their assistance.

The above-mentioned person must likewise consult with the Scots concerning the different shires and ports where the landing may be effected with least danger : and, above all, he must not fail to bring pilots with him, when he returns.

F I N I S.



Hooke, Nathaniel

The secret history of Hooke's Negotiations in Scotland, in favour of the
Pretender, in 1707 Including the original letters and papers

London 1760

Brit. 292 m

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10280196-8